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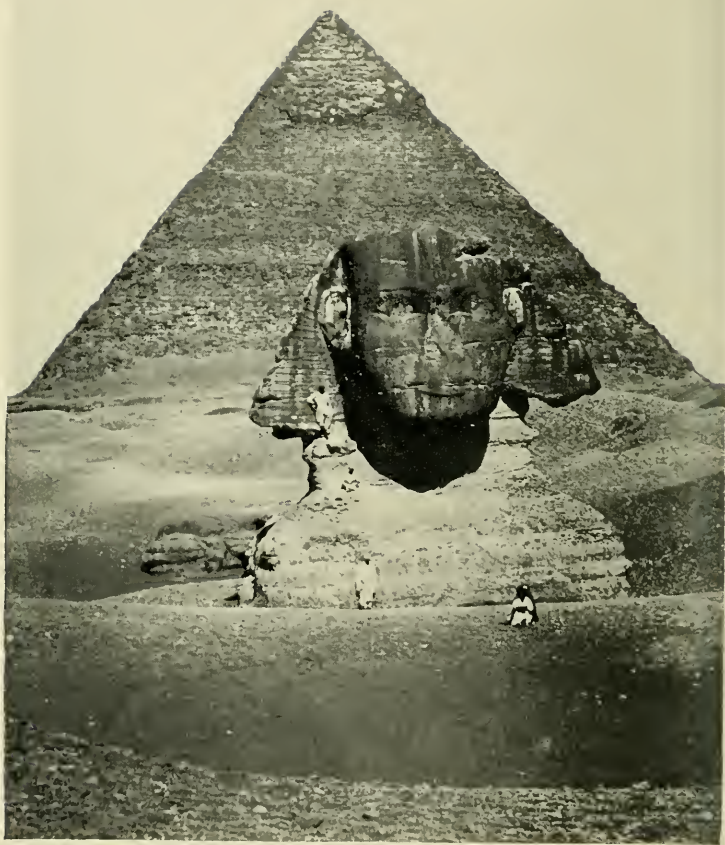
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SPHINX AND PYRAMID OF CHEPHREN.

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EGYPT IN ASIA

A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF PRE-BIBLICAL
SYRIA AND PALESTINE

BY

GEORGE CORMACK

WITH TWENTY-FOUR FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS
FROM PHOTOGRAPHS, TWENTY-THREE ILLUSTRATIONS
IN THE TEXT, AND FIVE MAPS



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PREFACE



THE present work is addressed to laymen and others, and purposes to give a plain account of the affairs of Syria and Palestine before the rise of Israel. Modern research in the East has greatly widened the outlook of history by the accumulation of documents relative to early and vanished ages of civilisation. Much of this material is intelligible or accessible only to special students. The general reading public is hardly aware that a continuous narrative of times and peoples lately regarded as prehistorical, can now be restored from first-hand evidence. Yet in many passages such a narrative is full of intimate details and living interest. The importance of the period touched in the following pages needs no demonstration in respect to its bearing on the difficult questions of Scriptural interpretation. Of late years a claim not less weighty has been advanced for the culture of the ancient East, as the preponderating factor in the shaping of all other civilisations, including our own.

An introductory chapter describes the physical features of Syria, and brings into relief the controlling effect of geographical conditions on the political fortunes of the land. There follows an account of the migrations, the conquests,

and the early civilisation of the Semitic nations. A review of the state of Palestine in the age to be narrated, as illustrated by modern excavations and other sources of evidence, introduces the main subject of the work. This embraces a period of nearly five centuries, from about 1600 to 1100 B.C., during which Syria was more or less under Egyptian rule. For parts of this time the monumental information is very full, and the author has thought it possible to weave the material of the Amarna letters into a continuous recital.

Naturally much attention is given to Egyptian history. This has been found inevitable from the dependent relation of Syria to Egypt during the period in question, and from the fact of the evidence being derived from Egyptian sources.

The numerous maps and illustrations with which the volume is embellished will be found a valuable feature. The reproduction of ancient portraits and pictures conveys the spirit of antiquity with a vividness which is not attainable by literary means, which speaks to every one, and which is not liable to misinterpretation. Views and maps supply the setting, without which historical narratives remain unreal and inconceivable.

The authorities followed for the translation and the explanation of texts are those cited in the section entitled BIBLIOGRAPHY at the end of the volume. The author would more particularly express great indebtedness to Winckler, Petrie and Breasted. He would also here record his gratitude for the valuable advice and the unfailing courtesy of Mr. Stanley A. Cook, through whose suggestions he has been able to improve this work in many important features.

While making no pretence to original research, the author has not hesitated to follow his own view in the frequent cases where authorities vary ; and he assumes entire responsibility for opinions in which he may be found to differ from the authors named. The necessary interval between writing and publication has made it impossible to notice some of the latest discoveries and views.

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EGYPT IN ASIA



CHAPTER I

THE HYCSOS OR SHEPHERD KINGS

FORTY centuries ago Egypt was already a nation of great antiquity. The character of the people had attained a unity in keeping with their situation, and their manners had been fixed by long usage. The memory of their origin and early struggles had faded from tradition. The return of seasons and cycles, the succession of reigns and dynasties, which had furnished the only incidents of their past, appeared to constitute an eternal order.

Agriculture was the chief occupation of the people, the mainstay of the national prosperity. The regularity of the climate and the bounty of the Nile assured the diligent cultivator of ample returns. These conditions required an easy but even exercise of toil and continuous prudence. Famine was seldom known, since at the very worst the abundance of good years was able to supply the deficiency of a bad year.

Manufactures and industries of many kinds were practised. The fine arts were held in honour, and highly

cultivated. The building genius of the nation was remarkably active; at the date of which we speak many of its masterpieces had been produced. The Sphinx and the Pyramids were already immeasurably old; their origin had been enrolled in the national mythology. They are to-day erect amidst the desolation of later time, but then they were crowded and dwarfed by prodigies that seemed not less durable. An imposing array of palaces, temples and towers, of granaries, treasure-houses, mansions, fortresses, houses of pleasure, of royal cities and stately cemeteries adorned the long course of the great river; from the cataracts of the south to the marshy flats of the north, lofty obelisks, colossal images, stupendous colonnades cast their long shadows on its wave.

In the twenty-first century before the Christian era the tranquillity of the valley of the Nile was rudely broken. We know not if civil strife or negligence at this particular time laid Egypt bare to foreign aggression. The monuments are silent on this head. Our sole authority says: "In the time of King Timaus it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us." A great horde of invaders crossed the north-eastern frontier and advanced into the heart of Egypt.

The fearful apparition of this host, a people coming from unknown regions, strange of speech, uncouth in appearance and bloody in act, dismayed the passive Egyptians.

It was not greed of warlike glory, not even the prospect of choice plunder, that prompted the invasion, but a motive far more terrible. The strangers were a landless people who sought a new home. From afar they had made choice

of Egypt, a land of peculiar felicity; had counted the cost, and arranged their plan of action. To appropriate the chosen seat, it was necessary that they should expel or destroy the existing occupants.

Whence did they come, this nameless and terrible people? The possibility of mighty nations existing far from the banks of the Nile was new to the Egyptian mind; an unwelcome novelty. In all ages Egypt has been secluded from other nations. Its people had never found in their nearer neighbours much to inspire esteem or interest. They knew the Ethiopians of the south, a docile and simple race; to the north-west they witnessed the tumults and sometimes suffered from the onslaughts of the Libyan wanderers; with the tribes of the north-east they had trading relations of old dates; for its mineral wealth they had anciently explored the Sinaitic peninsula and enslaved its inhabitants. All these neighbours they regarded as races inferior to themselves. Earlier Asiatic conquests of Egypt, of which we have monumental hints, were then already too remote in time to have left any vivid impression.

The shepherds, or Hycsos, as the unwelcome visitors came to be named, showed from the first unquestioned superiority in force. They obtained the supremacy without fighting a single battle, such was the terror diffused by their mere presence. They trampled in brutal triumph on the stricken nation. They overthrew all forms of government and scattered all social groupings; they burned the cities and ruined the temples; they put the male inhabitants to the sword, and sold the women and the children into servitude. Having cleared a space for themselves, they settled down in the desolation they had made.

That remnant of the Egyptian race which escaped their fury withdrew into the distant south; thither the policy of the shepherds did not find it needful to pursue them.

A hundred years of desolating wars ensued after the first coming of the invaders. At the end of that period the shepherds were in secure and sole possession of Lower (or northern) Egypt; at the same time they exercised sovereign powers over Upper Egypt, to which the dispossessed people was now confined. At Thebes and other southern capitals, princes of Egyptian blood ruled the shattered remains of their nation; but they were subordinate and tributary to the northern lords, who held them in restraint by means of garrisons fixed in suitable positions in their midst.

By an unparalleled succession of calamities the great and powerful people of Egypt seemed to have been effaced from the roll of nations.

The first age of confusion and destruction was followed by an age of renewed order. Rude as the earlier shepherds had been, they seem to have been of an organising and receptive disposition, and were capable of improvement. Their descendants acquired the manners of the race which they had vanquished, and in some measure restored the civilisation which had been so ruthlessly interrupted. In the course of some generations they became imbued with the spirit of orderly activity, which seemed to be inspired by the very atmosphere of the banks of the Nile. They prosecuted agriculture and the other industries with diligence, and they successfully carried on the building operations and the finer arts of the earlier people.

Lastly, the increased importance and the worldly prosperity of the shepherds exalted their great chief to

royal dignity. He did not shrink from equalling himself with the sacred and inviolable Pharaohs of former times. Salatis, the first shepherd king, fixed his seat at Memphis, the ancient capital. Thence he ruled Lower Egypt as a direct sovereign, while as overlord he exacted tribute and service of the humbled princes of the native race.

So thoroughly did this ruler identify his interests with the interests of the state, including its subjects of both races, that he made it a main article of policy to protect Egypt against future invasion from the quarter whence his ancestors had come. On the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, close to the north-eastern frontier, stood an old town named Avaris; this place he converted into a great fortress, and garrisoned it with a standing army of 240,000 men. The exercising, the supervising, the provisioning and the paying of this force occupied the king six months in each year.

Salatis was succeeded by a line of kings of his race, of whom five are named: Beon, Apachnas, Apophis, Ionias, Assis. Two hundred and sixty years are assigned as the sum of their reigns, and during that period the shepherds reached and passed the zenith of their splendour. Thereafter, by an inexorable law, they declined. The peace of several generations, the mollifying air of Egypt rendered them such as the Egyptians had been. In restoring the lost arts and industries of the former people, in submitting their rude spirit to the order and decorum of life in Egypt, they had lost the valour and the warlike ardour of their ancestors.

And adversity meanwhile had wrought a contrary effect in the native Egyptians, now secluded in the south.

The two peoples had been preserved from fusion by the pride of race and tribal laws. To the slow and blind resentment of races, centuries are as years; the wrongs of the fathers enrage the children to the tenth generation. The abhorrence and hatred which the vanquished people secretly cherished against their conquerors was aggravated by religious animosity.

As the force of the shepherds languished, the pretensions of the native princes revived. The latter discovered that they could disregard and disobey their oppressors. Warmed by new hopes, they quietly prepared the means of a great revolt. The gathering storm was perhaps precipitated by an act of untimely tyranny on the part of the ruling power.

Nothing was more characteristic of the Egyptian temper than a certain veiled and sullen fanaticism; masked by a phlegmatic exterior, and tempered by habits of docility, this frenzy broke out at rare intervals under excessive provocation; its effects were destructive and brief. This phenomenon was seen and described by the Roman poet Juvenal and other classical writers, and it recurs again and again in Egyptian history. Now, the shepherds were attached to the worship of Sutech, a deity which their ancestors had imported from their ancient Asiatic habitation. While rendering honour to the numerous gods of Egypt, they desired to enrol their own divinity in the national pantheon: nothing, according to ancient ideas, could have contributed more to the fusion of the two races. An attempt to carry such a point by authority may be attributed to the later and more civilised shepherds. But it met a resistance which no act of civil

oppression had raised, and it was readily adopted as a pretext by those who were about to break into revolt.

Thebes, in Upper Egypt, was the seat of the worship of Ammon. The powerful and aristocratic priesthood attached to the temple of this deity had consistently supported the national prejudices of the Egyptians and their hostility to the shepherds. This body now used all its power to blow the sparks of discontent into a flame; and its exertions were crowned by a great civil war.

The last and disastrous period of the shepherds' history embraced a hundred and fifty years. The war of independence, which in that time must have been interrupted by many intervals of peace or of compromise, and renewed under various forms, had one general drift and tendency. The ancient race slowly reconquered the possessions of their forefathers. The posterity of the conquerors were dislodged from point after point, and driven down the Nile valley.

Lastly, the shepherds after their long experience of supremacy were reduced to a wretched and beaten remnant. The fortress of Avaris, built by the pride of their first monarch, afforded them a last refuge. There they entrenched themselves, casting a great wall round the place to enclose their cattle and herds; and made a long and bloody stand. Avaris was taken, according to one account; by another, the Egyptians despaired of taking the place by siege, and agreed to a capitulation, that the shepherds should leave Egypt without molestation. In either case they were expelled. Driven before the conquering spears of the south, they recrossed the frontier and vanished in the desert. The going of the Hycsos was as

complete and as startling as their coming; history knew them no more.

The ancient Egyptians were prodigal of time; centuries counted with them as decades with modern men. The five hundred and ten years during which the shepherds had occupied Egypt, a space in which mighty empires have risen and fallen, supplied but an incident in the ageless annals of that country. Within a few years of the expulsion of the invaders, the even current of Egyptian life was restored and resumed by the descendants of the ancient people, as if it never had been interrupted. The vestiges of the hated foreigner were swept away like a pollution; their monuments and altars were cast down, their records were erased, their names and deeds were consigned to oblivion.

Yet it will appear in the sequel that the work of extirpation was more apparent than real. The shepherds left behind them a mixture of blood which was to have a profound influence in the new race that arose. The traditions and the external manners of the earlier ages might be revived, but the people was essentially different.

Our knowledge of the Hycsos is almost wholly due to the Jewish historian Josephus, who quotes the Egyptian historian Manetho. The monuments for this period are few and inconclusive. Recent writers are disposed to retrench considerably the space of five centuries which Josephus allows. As the date of the expulsion of the Hycsos is fairly well ascertained, the reduction must take effect at their entrance in Egypt, which is advanced from the twenty-first to the eighteenth century B.C. Breasted

calculates two hundred and eight years (1788–1580 B.C.), for the thirteenth to the seventeenth Egyptian dynasties, including the Hycsos. This view has probability in its favour, since it is evident that the preservation of claims, the restoration of the old inhabitants and the bodily removal of the intruders, must all have become more difficult with the lapse of time. The question, however, is still unsettled.

CHAPTER II

A GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF SYRIA

THE later campaigns of the Egyptian war of independence, if we may so call the struggle, had been directed by a warrior who traced his descent from the ancient kings of Egypt. His name was Amosis. In the double right of his ancestry and his valour he took possession of the throne, and was crowned and consecrated by the rites which rendered the Egyptian Pharaoh a divinity on earth.

The eighteenth dynasty, of which Amosis was the founder, and which was to reign for two hundred and forty-nine years, eclipsed the splendour of any period of earlier history. Egypt became again a thriving and powerful nation; inward prosperity led to outward expansion and conquest; Egypt became mistress of the land from which its oppressors had issued.

Having established order at home, Amosis and his successors projected an ambitious scheme of foreign war. The situation of Egypt restricted such operations to two fields: the south and the north, Ethiopia and Syria. In these diverse regions the kings of the eighteenth dynasty made systematic campaigns and gained notable victories, and both countries were reduced under their power.

Their southern wars lie beyond the view of this work;

but it is noteworthy that Africa afforded a plentiful supply of gold, which by the drift of trade found its way through Egypt to Asia. It would appear that this was a new source of gold, as far as south-western Asia was concerned. The metal was much in request there for the purposes of statuary and decoration; and already it had been long in use as a medium of commerce. It supplied a motive, as we shall find, for extensive traffic between Egypt and the civilised nations of the Euphrates and the Tigris during the age that now opened.

Before the coming of the shepherds, there appear few traces of intercourse between Egypt and Syria. A desert of many days divided the two countries, the nearer inhabited parts of Syria were bare and inhospitable, and the Egyptians perhaps felt little inclination to pursue their explorations farther north. Yet they clearly distinguished the Amu, a remarkable people who wore gaily coloured raiment, who cultivated music and the elegant arts; the Shasu, or shepherds; the Sati and the Retennu, who were perhaps the northern and the southern Syrians.

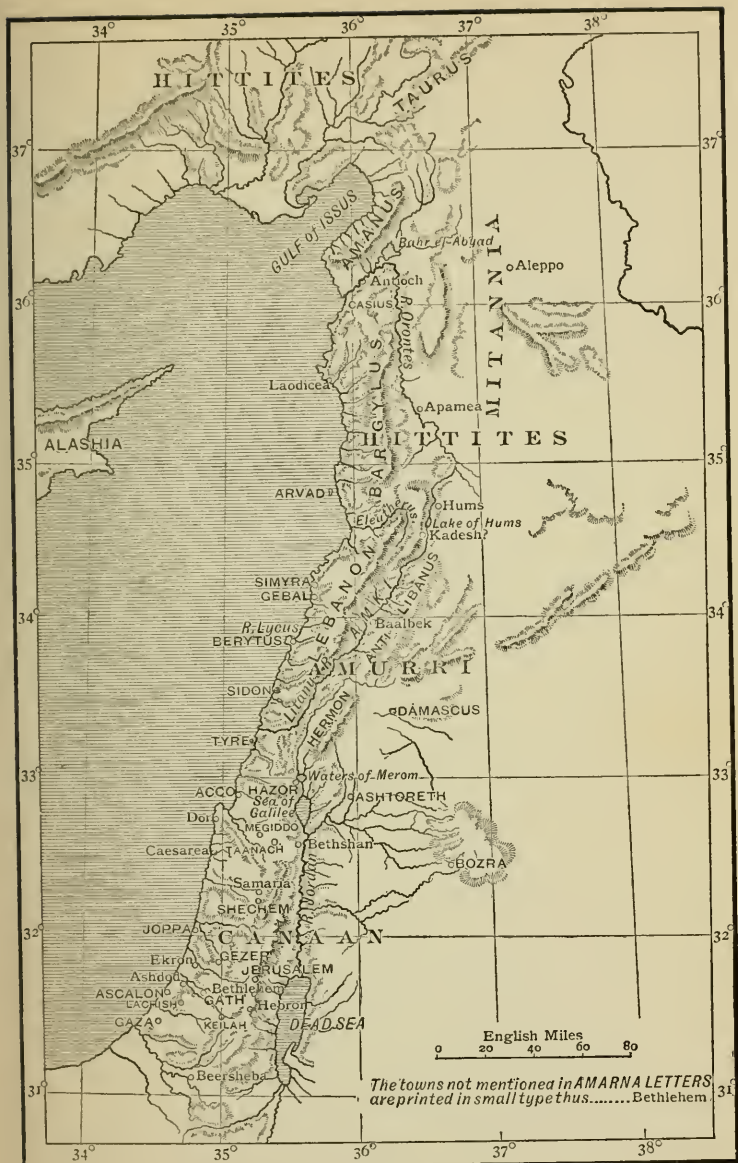
The Hycsos occupation had interposed a barrier between the Egyptians and the north, and had obliterated that earlier acquaintance. Thus the retreat of the invaders, and the pursuit after them by the Egyptians, gave the first opportunity to the latter of gaining a knowledge of Syria.

Yet we must assume that there had been a considerable commerce, of which we have no record, between Syria and Egypt during the age of the Hycsos. This may be regarded as extremely probable if the Hycsos were a kindred people to the inhabitants of Syria—an opinion now generally accepted.

Amosis pursued the remains of the enemy as far as the Phœnician coast; he captured the fortress of Sharuhén on the southern border of Palestine, and slaughtered the people of the hills. But the duty of maintaining order and establishing his authority at home forbade the thought of conquering Syria in his reign; he left it as a legacy to his successors.

The interest of these rulers was stirred by what they saw and heard of Syria. In many places desolate, barren, mountainous, rugged, that remarkable country possessed districts of great richness. Its products were grain, oil, wine and other provisions for which Egypt as a military power had now an increased demand; horses, cattle, sheep and goats; metals, precious stones and valuable wood; arms, armour and chariots of war of elegant workmanship; cups, jars, furniture and fine cloths; luxurious articles of diverse kinds. The precious minerals and some of the objects of art were imported by the trading towns of the coast; many of the latter were produced by the native artificers of those towns. These marts supplied the costly draperies of Shinar, and perhaps the fabrics of remote India and China.

Few lands have enclosed in so narrow a space such a variety of inhabitants as did Syria. In every age of its history this has been its peculiar character; and the diversity of its inhabitants, with the consequences of dissension and opposite policies, has been the least variable among the causes of its misfortunes. A united Syrian nation has never existed, and has never been possible. At all times the mutual distrust and vengeance of its races have kept this fine country from prospering. Discordant



MAP OF SYRIA.

in their origin and divergent in their aims and destinies, these have never rallied against a common enemy; a majority or a minority has usually found its advantage in supporting a foreign conqueror against the native interest.

The character and the history of the races of Syria are partly explained by geographical considerations. Of all nations, it may be said that their character, their history, their fortunes are controlled and conditioned by physical surroundings; and this rule seems to be capable of signal illustration in the case of the population of Syria.

Syria is a highway between three continents. It is the inevitable channel of peaceful traffic, of war, of ethnic displacements. It is the fatal meeting-place and battle-field of armies. Thence it has frequently befallen Syria to suffer in quarrels not her own; thence also she is exposed to be overrun by strangers at any unusual crisis in the world's affairs; witness the Hycsos, the Hittites, the Arameans, the Philistines, the Hebrews, the Scythians, the Saracens, the Turks, the Crusaders.

Even in times of peace the superficial irregularity of the country has retarded the fusion of its races. Syria is a land of surprising contrasts; tropical valleys and alpine heights, sun-baked tablelands and fruitful plains, savage mountains and smiling gardens are found in a day's journey. By disjoining their cares and their occupations, nature has divided the interests and perpetuated the disunion of the races which inhabit the several regions. The impressive contrasts which are exhibited by the people of the mountains, of the valleys and of the cities hold a direct relation to the situation of each.

To support this assertion, and to render succeeding

chapters a little plainer, we shall here detain the reader with a short sketch of the surface of Syria, confining our attention to the larger and general features. The details should be followed on the map; and it may not be out of place to remark that the reading of history is never so instructive or so interesting as when the map is kept open before the reader.

Syria is bounded on the west by the Mediterranean Sea; on the north and the north-west by the Taurus mountains and their offshoot the Amanus range; on the north-east by the middle course of the river Euphrates; on the east and on the south by the desert.

From this it appears that Syria has to some degree the character of an isthmus, although confined on one side by the desert and not by the sea; and in some respects it is the function of an isthmus which Syria is found to discharge in history.

A few important measurements may be taken. From the gulf of Issus in the north to the river of Egypt (the wady el-Arish) in the south, the Levant coast measures about three hundred and eighty miles. From east to west, Syria varies in breadth from sixty to a hundred miles; and its area has been estimated as twenty-eight thousand square miles,—a calculation which must vary with the rigour used in judging where the desert precisely ends. From the Egyptian frontier to Gaza, which stands on the edge of the desert, the distance is a hundred and fifty miles.

The decisive feature of the surface of Syria is its system of mountains. In a comprehensive view, these are composed of two parallel chains, which extend from north to south, parallel to the coast. With some breaks, they join

the mountains of Cilicia in the north to those of the peninsula of Sinai and of the western coast of Arabia in the south.

A deep and narrow valley, likewise stretching from north to south through the whole extent of Syria and beyond, separates the two parallel chains of mountains.

The western chain lies close to the sea, which it overhangs at certain places; elsewhere a ribbon-like plain fringes the coast, and rises by ranges of gentle foot-hills to the lower levels of the mountains. The plain is cut transversely by innumerable rivers descending from the mountains' flank. Although in few places exceeding a few miles in breadth, this plain is one of exceeding richness and fertility.

Behind the eastern chain a series of lofty tablelands descends by an even slope eastward to the desert.

Of such materials nature has fashioned climates and other physical conditions of wondrous diversity. The mountain summits, capped with eternal snow, are the meeting-places of clouds, of winds, of thunderstorms; their sides are clothed with forests; they are rent by great ravines and furious waterfalls; and are diversified with every form of wild and stupendous scenery. The tablelands are bare, desolate and waterless. The plains are fruitful and charming as enchanted gardens. The extreme of Indian heat, with the rank and hasty vegetation of the jungle, is found in the lower valley of the Jordan and around the Dead Sea.

Syria is divided into three greater parts by the main breaches of the mountain chains. Each part is of about equal extent in the frontage it presents to the sea.



Boufids.

MOUNT HERMON.

They are: Northern Syria, Central Syria or Lebanon, and Southern Syria or Palestine. The first is divided from the second by the plain of Emesa (Homs) and the river Eleutherus. The second and the third are separated by the lower course of the river Litany and the valley which lies between Mount Hermon and the tableland of Gilead.

To descend to a little more detail regarding the mountain system: it may be observed that the western chain is the more nearly continuous, and has the greater average height. It is composed, in short, of a series of ranges which lie almost end to end, with the interruptions we have named and others of less note. Mount Amanus (Alma Dagħ), its most northerly portion, is, as we have said, an offshoot of Mount Taurus, and forms the north-western limit of Syria. This range has a height of six thousand feet; it overhangs the eastern side of the gulf of Issus, and ends in a bold headland at the extremity of that piece of water. It affords two passes into Cilicia, which have been the channels of some memorable expeditions in ancient times, and may again become important in the future.

A shorter range named Pierus (jebel Musa) continues the chain southward as far as the mouth of the river Orontes. On the other side of that opening is the isolated peak of Casius (jebel Okra), over five thousand feet high. Still farther south, the extensive range of Bargylus (jebel Nusiriye) rises; it extends onward for seventy miles without a break, and sinks to the plain only at the point where Northern Syria is closed by the valley of the Eleutherus.

Bargylus is described as a highly picturesque and romantic region. Forests of pines and firs cover its sides, in some places to the top; here and there they are over-

topped by bald cliffs and naked crags; the loftier summits are wrapped in clouds.

In Central Syria, under the name of Lebanon (jebel Libnan), the mountain system attains its greatest height and its most majestic form. This range has an unbroken stretch of a hundred miles. None of its passes are lower than five thousand feet, and its crest is over ten thousand feet high. The summits are snow-clad, inaccessible; the higher slopes bear great forests of oaks, pines and cypresses. The cedar, now verging to extinction here, was anciently the wealth and the glory of this region.

The mountain sides are cleft by awful ravines, giddy chasms, abrupt gorges by which the melted snows descend "in torrent rapture" to the Phœnician plain.

It is said that the range owes its name (Lebanon means white, and the word has some untraced etymological connection with the western words Albion, Alps) rather to its bare and shining walls of limestone rock than to its snowy cap.

The mountains of Southern Syria or Palestine are disposed in three masses: Northern Palestine or Galilee, Middle Palestine or Samaria, and Southern Palestine or Judea. The highlands of Galilee have an average elevation of three thousand feet, and their peaks approach four thousand feet. The plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon (the merj ibn Amer) separates Galilee from Samaria. The latter rises to a height of three thousand feet; a spur of the Samaritan mountains projects seaward in a north-westerly direction, and ends in the bold headland of Carmel. The tableland of Judea is three thousand three hundred feet high.



Donfits.

CEDARS OF LEBANON.

Southward of Judea the level sinks to the desert; but the mountain may be traced onward to the peninsula of Sinai, where it ends in the vast upheaval known as *jebel Musa*, with its many radiating spurs.

The eastern chain may be traced from north to south in a similar way, with this difference, that it appears to be less continuous, and that the inexact state of geographical knowledge of north-eastern Syria robs our sketch of precision.

The eastern counterpart to *Bargylus* consists of lofty uplands, which are broken by a number of basaltic hills, *jebel el-Ala*, *jebel Arbain*, *jebel Siman*.

This extensive plateau is bounded on the south by the plain of *Emesa*. Thereafter the lofty range of *Antilibanus* (*jebel esh-Sharki*) offers a close counterpart to the northern and middle portion of *Lebanon*; the two ranges rise abreast; their contours are parallel; their depressions correspond; the peaks of *Antilibanus* are opposite the peaks of *Lebanon*. But the eastern range is uniformly the lower, its greatest elevation being under nine thousand feet. The length of *Antilibanus* is less than seventy miles. It is closed on the south by the valley of the *Abana* (the *Barada*), which divides it from *Hermon* (*jebel esh-Sheikh*); the latter thus corresponds to the southern portion of *Lebanon*. *Hermon* rises to the goodly height of nine thousand feet.

Advancing southward, we find that the relative bulk of the eastern and of the western chain is reversed; the tablelands of *Gilead*, of *Bashan*, of *Moab* vastly overtop *Galilee*, *Samaria* and *Judea*. The mountains of *Idumea* continue this chain southward to the *Red Sea* range, which overhangs the eastern shore of the gulf of *Elath*.

Bargylus and *Lebanon* lie near the coast, and there are

places where they directly overhang the sea in abrupt headlands; but in general they are flanked by lower hills, and the latter by an easy slope descend to a fringe of lowlands. This discontinuous plain, anciently known as Phœnicia, was one of great fertility, and is so still. The abundant moisture supplied by the mountains is the source of its richness. The prevailing winds of Syria being westerly, during half the year great banks of clouds are discharged against the mountain heights; condensed by the contact, these return to the sea by a thousand rills and torrents. The eastern flank of the mountains is not nearly so well watered.

The most highly cultivated districts in Phœnicia are those around Marathus, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre and Acco. In modern times these regions yield valuable harvests and a rich variety of fruits. It is probable that in earlier ages they were cultivated with greater diligence and profit.

The promontory of Carmel forms a decisive break in the maritime plain; southward of this the plain widens gradually, the line of coast curving westward while the mountains preserve their southward direction. But, although wider, it is less liberally watered, and as a consequence, is less fertile; the supply of water is conditioned by the height of the mountains behind, and the rainclouds sail over Palestine to water the higher grounds of Gilead and Moab. Southward of Gaza the plain assumes a more and more desert aspect in proportion as the Judean tableland sinks down to its level.

Perhaps the most singular feature of Syrian geography is the long valley which splits the mountain system into two parallel ranges.

Beginning in the marshy lake, bahr el-Abyad, in the extreme north, this fissure holds an almost straight course to the gulf of Elath (bahr Akabah), which divides the peninsula of Sinai from Arabia. Of that gulf it may be called in a sense the prolongation. Viewed geologically, it is a fault or crack in the earth's crust, originally due to unequal subterranean pressure, but worn deeper by the corrosive power of rivers.

The efficacy of the latter agency is attested by the remarkable depression of some parts of the valley. Its highest point lies in Middle Syria, between the greater masses of Lebanon and Antilibanus; there the watershed of the valley is three thousand six hundred feet above the level of the sea. A hundred and sixty miles southward of that point the Jordan enters the Dead Sea at a level of thirteen hundred feet below the surface of the ocean; if the bottom of this lake, which itself is thirteen hundred feet deep, be taken as the true floor of the valley, the total fall appears to be one of six thousand two hundred feet.

Such measurements confirm the propriety with which the natives have named the two principal rivers of the valley: el-Asi, the turbulent, the rebellious one; and Jordan, the faller, the descender, the down-rushing—recalling the “Jove-descending” streams of Homer.

From the watershed mentioned above, near the famous sanctuary of Baalbek, the waters of two neighbouring springs flow diversely, and beget two mighty streams.

The Orontes (el-Asi) is that one which flows northward: from its source down to the point at which it issues from the narrower portion of the valley and enters the plain of Emesa, a course of about fifty miles, it has a fall of two

thousand feet. Here it expands to a lake having an area of thirty square miles (the lake of Homs). Thence it still flows northward, through the broad and rich pastures of Cœlesyria, until it reaches the northern end of Bargylus, and waters the gardens of Antioch and the charming groves of Daphne. At that point, no longer confined by the western mountain, it turns aside abruptly and rushes down to the sea through a rocky ravine ten miles long.

From the adjoining spring the Litany (which usually is identified with the Leontes of ancient geographers, the modern name being apparently a corruption of this word) flows in the opposite direction as far as the southern butt of Lebanon. Turning that point, it falls to the Mediterranean Sea by a precipitous gorge which the force of its own waters has hewn in the rock; affording a magnificent example of the power of running water, multiplied by time.

Of other streams which fall into the sea, it is enough simply to mention in a rapid survey the Eleutherus (nahr el-Kebir), the Kadisha, the Lycus (nahr el-Kelb), the Kishon (nahr el-Mukutta), the wady el-Arish, called in Scripture the river of Egypt. The lesser streams of Lebanon are numberless.

The Jordan, the greatest and most famous of Syrian streams, is formed by the juncture of three rivers which spring from the sides of Hermon. The Hasbany is the most important of the three; rising in the western flank of the mountain, for many miles it flows down a decline parallel to the valley of the Litany. The other two descend from the southern base of the mountain. Flowing together in that vale which divides Middle from Southern Syria, the three streams form a lake, the Waters of Merom (Lake Huleh)



Issuing thence, the Jordan descends southward by a narrow volcanic cleft which opens into the Sea of Galilee (bahr Tubariyeh); the surface of this lake is seven hundred feet below the level of the sea. From the Sea of Galilee it sinks to the Dead Sea, the surface of which, as already said, lies at a depth almost twice as great.

The Dead Sea has no outlet. The enormous supply of water which it receives from the Jordan and other sources is balanced, and even more than balanced, by evaporation; so great is the heat at that depth. To this mode of discharge is due the excessive saltiness of the Dead Sea; all lakes without issue are salt. There appears to be evidence of a gradual shrinking in the volume of its waters; once it had a vast area, in the future it is doomed to contract still more within its steep sides.

Eastward of its mountain ranges, Syria is composed of broad tablelands descending by a long incline to the desert; these prairies afford rich pastures, and have many parts suitable for agriculture. Here and there the plain is broken by great tracts of volcanic rocks, arid and without soil. Elsewhere they are diversified by oases of exceptional fertility and delightful climate.

The plain of Damascus is one of the most remarkable places of Syria. Its riches and its amenity have been celebrated in every age, and have rendered it, though rather difficult of access, the natural head and mistress of Syria. It is watered by two noble rivers, the Abana (the Barada), which rises in the western flank of Antilibanus and flows round the southern butt of that range eastward; and the Pharphar (nahr el-Awaj), which springs from the southern side of Hermon. Having watered the gardens

and the orchards of Damascus, the two streams flow in parallel courses eastward; and finding no issue, perish in stagnant pools and marshes.

The oasis of Aleppo, in the north, is a station of importance in the trade route to the East.

That of Palmyra, secluded in the desert to the north-east of Damascus, is famed by its historical memories, though of far later date than those treated of in this volume.

The valley of the Kishon, called in Scripture the valley of Jezreel (in western Syria), though not to be compared with the district of Damascus, was likewise a place of great fertility; sufficiently to excite the greed of the Egyptian invaders. In the sequel, moreover, we shall find the possession of this region a powerful motive with the early Israelites and their rivals; giving rise to contests which form the genuine historical substance of some of the biblical legends.

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE OF SYRIA

THE foregoing short sketch of the surface of Syria provides a suitable transition to the subject of its inhabitants at the time when they became known to the Egyptians of the eighteenth dynasty. To do justice to the inquiry, it is necessary that we should ascend the stream of time many centuries earlier, and examine the references to Syria which are to be found in the oldest of eastern monuments.

Of an aboriginal race it is almost vain to speak; the frequent invasions and vicissitudes which Syria has suffered during the course of recorded history undoubtedly were rehearsed in prehistorical times. Each invasion left a new deposit of humanity to modify the earlier population. Often, thanks to the exclusive pride of primitive nations, isolated communities were planted, which long remained in close contact with the other races of the land, without intermarriage or the slightest fusion. In general the population was frequently renewed and was constantly undergoing modification.

Nevertheless, modern exploration has actually laid bare the remains of a people which might be called aboriginal. They were men of slight build and small stature, who used implements of flint and of bone, made

pottery of a rude design, and were ignorant of the arts of house-building and of metal-working: these were the men of the Stone Age. This race made their dwelling in the limestone caves with which many parts of Syria abound, and there their skeletons and their pottery, buried under the rubbish and the ruin of succeeding races, have been dug up by the excavator of to-day.

The Old Testament preserves a tradition of the Hori (by which name cave-men may be understood), who are said to have preceded the tribes of Edom in Mount Seir. The tradition may be a genuine historical memory. If the aboriginal people survived in that particular region long enough to find a place in written records, it certainly vanished much earlier in the rest of Syria.

New nations succeeded to the cave-men, driving them out and extinguishing them; and in turn were themselves displaced.

During the period of written history, immigration into Syria has come mainly from two sources, the east and the north. We have some reason to believe that the same thing holds good of times for which inference is our only guide. The northern source was an occasional one, though at times of great importance; the eastern may be called the normal one. When the Egyptians of the new empire invaded Syria, its inhabitants, whatever their diversity in respect to manners and government, were almost all members of that great family, the Semitic race. And, as may be gathered from occasional glimpses into the earlier times, that race had already been in possession of Syria for many ages.

The Semitic race is one of the great main divisions of

the human species; more closely related than any other to the Aryan or Caucasian race. It comprises many nations and countless tribes, distributed over a wide area and filling a vast period of time. During a large part of known history it has been diffused over northern Africa and southern Asia; still earlier, it appears to have occupied a less extensive field near the middle of this area.

The Semites of pure strain exhibit a long and narrow (dolichocephalic) skull, an oval face, a well-developed and prominent nose, thick and curly black hair, and a strong beard. Such physical features appear to be indelible and invariable while the race remains perfectly pure; and they impart to the conclusions of ethnology a certainty which cannot be conceded to those, for example, of philology when the latter stand alone.

But the languages also of the Semitic nations offer clear evidence of a common origin. In contrast to the languages of the Indo-European family, they exhibit a comparatively limited range of variations from a common type. Very obviously they are derived from an original speech once spoken by the undivided race in its primitive seat; in the dispersal of the various branches of the race, they have resisted in a remarkable manner the natural processes of decay and renewal which transform languages. Closely related as they are to each other, the Semitic languages have little or no affinity to any others not comprised in the group. Their peculiar system of radicals, the common property of all the members of the group, is the unmistakable seal of their fellowship.

The testimony of physical features and language, supported by that of geographical and historical associ-

ation, sets in the clearest light the common origin of the Semitic nations; allowance being made for a certain mixture of foreign blood in the process of dispersal. The primitive stock inhabited a narrower area, whence waves of population have been distributed from time to time; some stages of the dispersal come into the view of history, and the place of origin is now ascertained with little doubt. The inhabitants of the great plains of northern Arabia seem to be the purest living representatives of the typical Semite; they retain with much regularity the physical features named above, and their language has degenerated least from the primitive model. Within historical times, too, their land has delivered waves of population that have overflowed the neighbouring countries, and these migrations are evidently similar to those which peopled or re-peopled south-western Asia in prehistorical times. Everything points to the Arabian peninsula as the centre and the source of the Semitic race.

That boundless yet inaccessible land was worthy to be the nursery of a unique people. A threefold girdle of mountain, desert and sea guarded it from invasion, and secluded its inhabitants from the commerce and even the knowledge of other races. No region of the world has remained so free from foreign control, and has been so little touched by foreign influences. Thousands of years ago the manners and life of the Arabian wanderers differed little from those of their living successors and descendants. In fancy we may picture the primitive and unscattered Semitic tribes as they roamed its wide and secure pastures, a world apart. It was still in the very early dawn of human progress that some impulse—famine, or increase of numbers,

or exuberance of warlike spirits, or envy inspired by the view of agricultural settlements in the fruitful basin of the Euphrates—first led them to overstep the limit of the desert.

The earliest achievement of the Semitic people of which we have any hint was the conquest, or the colonisation, of Babylonia. The absence of monumental notices, and the extreme remoteness of the time, forbid us to form any definite conception of that event. There is evidence that the Semites were not the first inhabitants of Babylonia; another people of totally different characteristics were of old in possession of the land, had founded the ancient cities, and had elaborated the civilisation which the invaders inherited. Thence it must be concluded that the Semitic immigration was not altogether destructive and catastrophic—there was time for the strangers to acquire the manners of the former race, before these utterly disappeared or were absorbed by the Semitic tribes. To the latest times the language of the earlier race, though disused in daily life, was preserved and studied as a sacred tongue and as a medium of magical knowledge. That language, and some vestiges of their astrological lore, are the only monuments of this vanished people.

The first great wave of Semitic population into Babylonia is distinguished for convenience as the “Babylonian-Semitic” migration, and the fourth millennium B.C. is assigned as its date. What other regions it reached cannot be guessed. The rise and the prime of this race are hidden in prehistorical darkness. Already before the date of the oldest monuments a new Arabian invasion had begun; the second wave of population is distinguished from the first by

linguistic differences, and is named the "Canaanite" or the "Amorite" migration. These somewhat misleading terms do not denote the point of origin of the invasion, but are taken from the names of well-known branches thereof.

The newer Semites obtained a strong footing in southern Babylonia, or Sumer (Shinar); while the older maintained their position in northern Babylonia, or Accad. The monuments appear to indicate a conflict between the two races. The Canaanite migration is dated between 3000 B.C. and 1500 B.C.—a series of wanderings within these dates is to be supposed. This race had a very wide geographical distribution on all sides of the Syrian desert. From Babylonia it ascended the Euphrates and occupied Mesopotamia; thence stretched eastward to the Tigris and founded Assur; Harran, Kadesh, Damascus, Jerusalem, the Phœnician seaports, were its colonies or conquests. The invasion of Egypt by the Hysos has been recognised as an outflow of this people; who, moreover, in the Phœnician settlements extended westward on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea and beyond the Pillars of Hercules. The closing wave of the Canaanite migration was that which cast up the Hebrew tribes to the conquest of Palestine.

The earliest Babylonian records were written after 3000 B.C. The picture they present is that of a number of petty states which struggled for supremacy, each in turn striving to affix its rule on the others; in this state of things it is possible to see the disruption of a former united nation by external violence. The flourishing period of the "Babylonian-Semitic" people was past; and their political power must have been considerable, if it may be estimated from the traces of their civilisation. In art and writing

their continued superiority is indicated by the earliest monuments; but they were no longer politically powerful. The old cities of southern Babylonia, in the hands of the newer Semites, were now dominant, at least for a time.

A signal triumph, perhaps a last revival of the Babylonian-Semitic race, appeared in the rise of Sargon of Agade, a city of northern Babylonia. Sargon and his son Naram-sin mastered all Babylonia, and added thereto a vast foreign empire. The historical significance of this dynasty cannot be set aside, although avouched by trivial and scanty tokens. To Sargon was attributed the founding of the new city of Babylon, which afterwards became the capital of the East. Popular tradition invested his history with fables, and the story of his exposure in infancy was the counterpart of that which was told of other famous founders of states, such as Moses, Romulus, Cyrus. The monuments of Sargon tell that he conquered Elam, Mesopotamia and Syria; he crossed the Persian Gulf with an army, and was absent three years in the East, returning thence laden with spoil and captives. To these dominions Naram-sin added the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, and tracts of the eastern Arabian coast. The extent of sovereignty thus gained surpassed that of the later Assyrian empire. The dominions then mastered perhaps did not remain long under one rule, and the circumstances of later times never allowed them to be reunited; but the empire of Sargon set a pattern and an ideal for future conquerors. More than twenty centuries after Sargon's days his name was adopted by an Assyrian usurper as the pledge of an ambition to subdue the whole East. The culture of this remote age is admirably illustrated by a sculpture celebrating a victory by Naram-sin;

a remarkable work in its fidelity to nature, and freedom from the conventional vices of later art.

The decay of the northern empire was followed by the appearance of southern dynasties, of the "Canaanite" race, professing sovereignty over Sumer and Accad, or southern and northern Babylonia, and sometimes taking the boastful title "king of the four quarters of the world." It is always doubtful how far these expressions corresponded to actual facts. Ur, Isin and Larsa successively gave rulers to the Babylonian world. Lastly, in the lapse of centuries the city of Babylon, which Sargon is said to have founded, became by universal assent the permanent capital. This notable event happened in the reign of Hammurabi, sixth king of a "Canaanite" line called the first dynasty of Babylon—the first five kings appear to have been vassals of the kings of Isin and Larsa, and Hammurabi signalled his independence by dethroning Rim-sin, the last king of Larsa.

Numerous monuments of the reign of Hammurabi have been found, many of them being private documents, legal instruments and contracts of sale. In antiquity generally property, even movable property, could not be transferred without complicated formalities; whence the profusion of these testimonies. The picture they yield of daily life in Babylon is one of an orderly, industrious and active community. This impression is, moreover, confirmed by the law-pillar of Hammurabi, a public monument discovered in the ruins of Susa, whither it had been borne off by a later Elamite conqueror; a block of diorite inscribed in fine characters with the laws of Babylon. Like the twelve tables at Rome, the pillar of Hammurabi was set up in public



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STELE OF NARAM-SIN, SHOWING THAT KING ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE.
(From the Louvre.)

that no citizen might ignore the law, and that disputes might be settled as they rose by an appeal to the written text; "that justice may prevail in the land, that the wicked may be subdued, that the strong may not oppress the weak." It is remarkable that Hammurabi, in the introduction to his laws, professes to have received them directly from the sun-god, whom a sculptured heading represents instructing him. Some of the laws bear a startling resemblance to those of the "book of the covenant," Ex. xx. 22-xxiii. 33, and the pillar must be considered one of the most revolutionary discoveries yet made in the East. The historical importance of Hammurabi does not fall short of that of Sargon, and indeed is attested by fuller evidence. The biblical reference to this king and Rim-sin as Amraphel and Arioch is extremely interesting, corresponding as it does to much that we now know of the historical conditions of the age. Precarious as the story of Abraham's expedition may be from a critical standpoint, the setting in any case is taken from eastern history. The Amraphel of Gen. xiv., it must be noticed, is not Hammurabi the conqueror and master of the East, but Hammurabi in the earlier part of his reign, nominally the vassal of Rim-sin of Larsa, but actually levelled with his sovereign under the Elamite oppression.

The reign of Hammurabi and his immediate successors was the great age of Babylon's political ascendancy. What extent of territory was subject to this dynasty is not well known. One inscription designates Hammurabi as king of Martu, that is, Syria; in another he calls himself the restorer of Assur, implying that he reasserted the ancient mastery of Babylonia over that city. What is most signifi-

cant is, that a uniform civilisation, issuing from Babylon and looking to Babylon as the metropolis of art and knowledge, was thus early diffused over south-western Asia. Such a triumph can be best understood as a result of conquest, and in the case of Assur the sequence of cause and effect can be traced. The northern city was long tributary to Babylon, as inscriptions clearly announce, and did not assert its independence till after the fall of the first dynasty. Many centuries later we shall see the Babylonian kings still firmly resisting the Assyrian pretension of independence, which they were unable to suppress by military force; eventually the Assyrians assumed the supremacy over Babylonia. But to the close of their history the northern people evinced their continued dependence on the ancient capital in all matters of culture and custom. They honoured the same gods with the same rites, and told the same myths and legends; they had the same institutions, and cultivated the same arts and crafts; their speech and system of writing was borrowed from Babylonia, and the Babylonian lore and literature were objects of their study.

Doubtless there were other colonies or conquests in the north and the north-west, which served as citadels of Babylonian authority or as halting-places of commerce. Such a city was Harran. The deposit of "Canaanite" tribes along the eastern, the northern and the western sides of the Syrian desert made a continuous transmission of intercourse possible, even without political subordination. For some generations, perhaps some centuries, the Semitic world, from the Persian Gulf to the Nile (for this was the time of the Hycsos in Egypt), enjoyed a community of



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HAMMURABI WORSHIPPING THE SUN GOD.
(From the Stele with the law code in the Louvre.)

culture, and was federated in a free exchange of ideas and institutions. The vestiges of that common civilisation remained long after the political circumstances were changed.

For this age we have no written monuments of Syria, but recent excavations in Palestine afford some light. In Palestine, as in other lands, the transition from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age was accompanied by the appearance of a new race, which imported the new civilisation. The age of the cave-men of Gezer is estimated to have closed during the fourth millennium B.C. The primitive folk were replaced by Semitic invaders, the Canaanites (so named with propriety in this case); and it is remarkable that the long and slow development of this people, down to the time when they come well in the light of history, exhibits no break or interruption that the archaeologist can observe. Here, while Egyptian objects and the influence of Egyptian art are most conspicuous, indications of Babylonian influence are also observed.

In Egyptian records we catch occasional glimpses of Syria from the earliest dynasties. Sneferu, the founder of the fourth dynasty, or last king of the third dynasty, conquered Sinai, and imported timber from Lebanon. The biographical inscription of Una, a general of the sixth dynasty, describes a series of Asiatic expeditions by an Egyptian army, in the course of which the Amu were subdued. Again, Usirtesen (or Sesostris) I., conducted a marauding expedition into Syria and pillaged a place or district called Sekmem in Retennu. Such brief notices teach us little. But in the Sinuhe papyrus we obtain an interesting and vivid account of life in Syria during the

twelfth dynasty ; that is, in the twenty-eighth century B.C. according to one computation ; or otherwise in the twentieth century B.C.

This document purports to tell, in the first person, the singular adventures of an Egyptian noble. The tale of Sinuhe appears to have been enrolled in the classic literature of ancient Egypt. Its merits do not wholly vanish in translation. The story is interesting, in the staid yet powerful manner of antique narrative. The writing exhibits that restraint and sense of propriety which seem to have been accounted the fine flower of the Egyptian spirit. That the writer knew something of Syria is shown by the details with which his picture abounds ; and the style of the hieroglyphic writing is held to be that of the age to which it professes to belong. The value of the picture is therefore not diminished by the doubt whether the adventures of Sinuhe are to be taken as history or as pure romance.

Sinuhe was an officer of distinction in the Egyptian army, and was perhaps nearly allied to the royal house. The propinquity even may have been his danger. For some reason (the beginning of the manuscript is lost) he deserted from the army during a campaign in Libya ; fleeing across the Delta eastward, he sought refuge in the desert, far from the power of his royal master.

Arriving at the frontier fortress, he was alarmed to see the watchers on the wall ; but he eluded their vigilance by a disguise. In the desert he wandered many days, and suffered cruelly from thirst. "This, I said, is the taste of death," he writes. In his extremity he was succoured by a Syrian, who brought him to Kedem, evidently a city of

southern Palestine. At Kedem he was hospitably received, and was sheltered for some time.

As may be supposed, the report of a distinguished Egyptian exile residing among them was soon spread through the Syrian tribes. After a time, Sinuhe received propositions from Ammi-anshi, a king of the upper Tenu, that he should become his guest or client. He accepted the invitation, and was advanced to the highest honours by his patron.

Ammi-anshi made him tutor over his children, and gave him his daughter in marriage. He granted him possession of the choicest part of the land. Likewise Sinuhe was made ruler over the king's servants, and lastly was put in command of the army, for which his Libyan experiences may have qualified him.

By the upper Tenu the people of southern or middle Palestine are probably meant. The land, as Sinuhe states, was fertile, rich in figs and grapes; all its trees were fruit-bearing; it abounded in wine more than in water; oil and honey were plentiful; there was much barley and wheat; to its cattle there was no limit.

From the royal bounty Sinuhe had a daily allowance of bread, of wine, of flesh, of milk; and he had, besides, unlimited licence of snaring and hunting game.

In his military capacity he made extensive conquests on his master's behalf, the more valued being apparently those of a movable kind, as slaves, cattle and provender.

He vaunts, moreover, the comity of his disposition in times of peace, his hospitality, and especially his forbearance in the matter of caravans; which in all ages seem to have presented a strong temptation to the warlike classes.

He tells a singular incident of a strong man, a champion of the Tenu, who seems to have taken umbrage at his rapid advancement. This giant, who brooked no rival, sent Sinuhe a boastful challenge, which was accepted. The combat is related with great fulness and effect; it ended in a victory for the Egyptian, who rendered thanks to Month, the Egyptian god, for his deliverance.

Sinuhe almost became a thorough Syrian. Many years passed, and children were born to him, who grew up and became mighty warriors in their turn. But a power stronger than the love of children called him thence.

In his old age Sinuhe felt a longing to see the land of his youth; a longing that became more importunate by force of being baulked and deferred. A religious motive strengthened the craving of nature: "How great a thing," he says, "is it that my body may be embalmed in the land where I was born."

So he sent messengers to Egypt, to remind the court of his existence; he yet lived, and no longer was dangerous. A kindly answer came back from the royal house. Sinuhe set his face toward Egypt, leaving for ever his adopted people. His eldest son inherited his possessions, and became his successor in the command of the army.

Sinuhe was reinstated in grace on his arrival in Egypt; the queen and the royal children treated him with homely kindness. He laid aside his foreign character in his restored situation, shaved off his long hair, cast aside his Syrian robes, dressed himself in fine linen, anointed himself with precious oil, and slept no longer on the sand. The Egyptian king filled up the measure of his

contentment by building a spacious tomb for him during his life.

All this, it may be remembered, took place eight or sixteen centuries before the arrival of Israel in Southern Syria. The tale of Sinuhe impresses us with a sense of the imperishable continuity of certain forms of society. Twenty, thirty centuries later, the general setting appears not greatly changed in Palestine. Nothing in the story, it may be remarked, refutes the conception of Palestine having been at this time a province or tributary dependency of a Babylonian empire.

Sinuhe's relation to the tribe is not readily explained; it bespeaks at least some liberality and tolerance in the tribesmen. Under the patriarchal rule which afterwards and probably then prevailed, the *gêr* or stranger could have no political privileges; he sojourned in the tribe only by the protection of some one of its members, to whom he stood in the relation, so well known in early Roman history, of a client to a patron. To the covenant of Israel, according to the book of Deuteronomy, no foreigner was to be admitted, and only the grandchildren, by a favour, of certain guests of approved source. In an exceptional case, like that of Sinuhe, the customary law may have been strained or eluded by a legal fiction. It is to be noticed that the sons of Sinuhe, probably in the right of their maternal kinship, became full members of the Syrian community.

A monument somewhat later than Sinuhe, but under the same dynasty, represents a group of the Amu who visited Egypt with presents of various kinds. The people are richly clad, and possess asses and gazelles, shields,

spears, bows and musical instruments. Their features are sharp, quite unmistakably Semitic; Absha, the chief's name, like Ammi-anshi of the Sinuhe narrative, is also Semitic.

It would appear that the influence of Egypt prevailed in Syria alternately with that of Babylonia. Probably



VISIT OF ASIATICS (AMU) TO EGYPT, TWELFTH DYNASTY.

the former was more operative in those parts of Syria which lay nearest Egypt. From the earliest dynasties the peninsula of Sinai was subject to the Pharaohs, and an occasional northern campaign was more than probable; for this conjecture there is archaeological support in an early layer of Egyptian remains found at Gezer, the assumed date of which is a thousand years earlier than that of objects associated with the eighteenth dynasty.

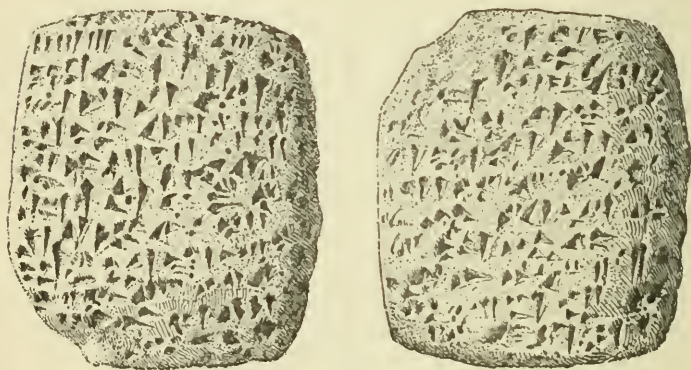
Occasions such as this perhaps corresponded to intervals of revolution or depression in Babylonian affairs.

The Babylonian supremacy which we have assumed had vanished long before the time when the Hycsos were expelled from Egypt; a date from which we begin to have clear information of the state of Syria. Its withdrawal may be associated with the fall of the first dynasty of Babylon. Of a second dynasty of conquerors from the coast-lands of southern Babylonia, formerly thought to have succeeded the dynasty of Hammurabi, there is little evidence beyond the somewhat suspicious information that it also consisted of eleven kings, who ruled during a period equal to that of the first dynasty. The latest investigators reject the theory of a second dynasty, and lower the date of the first dynasty. The view is now generally accepted that the first (and not a second) dynasty was dethroned by the conquests of, a race of eastern mountaineers, the Cassites, who overran the Euphratean plain and set a king of their own race on the throne. Quite certainly the foreign dependencies of Babylon did not long survive this irruption. Assyria successfully repelled the mastery of the Cassite kings. Syria, farther removed from the seat of power, could do so with less danger. But the ties of trade, of social intercourse and of religious influence remained unbroken.

Proof of Babylonian influence in Syria is found in the worship of Babylonian divinities. This in itself almost implies conquest, and at least extensive occupation. Shamash the Babylonian sun-god, Dagon the god of corn, Lachmu the god of bread, left their names at Beth-shemesh, at Beth-dagon, at Beth-lehem, where their altars stood. Ninib, the Babylonian storm-god, had a temple near

Jerusalem. Ashtoreth and Rimmon were still worshipped in Syria a thousand years later.

A proof not less striking is found in the general use in Syria of the Babylonian writing and language. The cuneiform or arrow-headed script was an elegant but complex and difficult mode of writing. Like the Chinese system (to which it bears a curious and unexplored resemblance), it could be mastered only by patient and



[*Palestine Exploration Fund.*

CUNEIFORM TABLET DISCOVERED AT LACHISH.

painful study. Its prevalent use in Syria, long after the removal of Babylon's political power, indicates a thorough diffusion of Babylonian institutions. It indicates, we may add, a stage of civilisation in Syria that greatly differed from, and even may have excelled, that which scriptural testimony shows to have prevailed long afterwards.

Not only were the arrow-headed writing and the Babylonian language used in correspondence between Syrians and Babylonians; we shall likewise find them

used between Syrians and Syrians (in contempt of their native idioms), and between Syrians and Egyptians; and examples occur of letters in which the arrow-headed symbols are adapted to the foreign sounds of the languages of Cilicia and Armenia.

CHAPTER IV

THE PEOPLE OF SYRIA

THUS modern discovery has overturned an idea formerly prevalent, that little intercourse existed between the different regions of the earth before the Macedonian and the Roman conquests. On the contrary, the whole of south-western Asia was united by a community of culture, a thousand and two thousand years before these events. In the childhood of civilisation such a condition of things was naturally unstable. If our modern civilisation has any absolute superiority to former civilisations, it is that of extent and solidity. Our culture is not secure from demolition at the hands of races now insignificant; but its instability is a matter of calm speculation. The old civilisations were surrounded by a hostile barbarian world, which ever menaced them with destruction—an unmeasured devouring chaos, at war with light and order—and by this they were eclipsed from time to time. The Semitic world was exposed on three sides to such a danger; from the south rolled forth new waves of their kinsmen out of the inner recesses of Arabia; from the east and the north-east, the mountains of Elam and central Asia sent down numerous races, the forerunners of the Mongols and the Turks; from the north-west the Hittites of Armenia and Cappadocia

advanced over the Taurus mountains into Northern Syria and Mesopotamia.

The Cassite invasion of Babylonia was a case of this kind, and probably should be regarded as a blow to the progress of society. Released from the Babylonian dominion, the petty states of Syria lacked the coherency to form new political combinations of any importance, and fell into a confusion, which the expulsion of the Hysesos from Egypt contributed not a little to intensify. The Syria which the Egyptians of the eighteenth dynasty saw, was a land sinking in culture and retrograding in policy. One rule had been withdrawn, and nothing else had taken its place. Thus the conquest of Syria by Egypt was invited by the nakedness of the land, and followed as a consequence of its desertion by Babylon.

It is true the conquerors of ancient times gave little attention to the inner condition and the mutual affairs of their subject states. The great powers of the present day justify their rule by the plea of governing and civilising their tributaries. The Romans did the same; but it is known that the Romans only learned from experience to rule their subjects with justice; the earlier proconsuls occupied themselves mainly with extorting taxes and crushing rebellion. Before the Romans it does not appear that any imperial power systematically gave laws to the nations they overcame. Still it is evident that no ruling people, however tolerant or sluggish, could afford to neglect entirely the agitations of the subject states, which so readily might develop into rebellion. In the sequel we shall see that the Egyptians in Syria, at the time for which we have the fullest evidence, were utterly

oblivious to the commotions of the Syrian rebels; but that remissness was adverse to their own interests and contributed to the loss of their empire. In the stronger age of their supremacy they probably had governed with a firmer hand. We may conclude on the whole that the usual policy of ruling states in the early age we are concerned with was to hold the conquered land by a military force, to intercept communications between the conquered people and foreign powers, and to hinder the formation of dangerous leagues among the subjects themselves; on the other hand, rulers did not concern themselves to improve the laws or to humanise the manners of their vassals, and they probably found it salutary to encourage and even to promote strife between their subjects.

The monumental records yield us few hints regarding the tribal or gentile groupings of the Syrian people. What we do gather gives the impression of a race in transition and unrest, and in minute political subdivision. We see petty communities falling singly before the Egyptian invader, when union and a sense of common interest might have turned the tables. Such combinations as take place are unstable and transient; bad faith and distrust weaken the natural coherency of blood and clime. It is clear that the tribal system, as we find it in the Bible and in the vestiges of early Greek and early Roman history, hardly existed during the Egyptian period. In examining the Amarna documents we shall notice some indications of the tentative formation of such groups and of larger combinations. We shall there observe the prosaic facts of alliances, as viewed by unsympathising contemporaries, such as

elsewhere we know through the ennobling medium of lyrical poetry or mythological stories.

The favourable moment for the formation of tribal groups arose when a stand was to be made against oppression, or when any great achievement offered itself and a man of capacity arose to take the leadership. If the alliance weathered dangers, accomplished some notable victory, emerged in safety from dark days; then it became invested with kindly sentiment and served as a theme for poets. Thus nations were formed.

A tribe was a combination of clans, and a clan was a combination of families. The natural unit of all society is the family, a group founded upon the most universal of human sentiments. The primitive family was a rather large body, embracing sons, grandsons, brothers, cousins, with their wives and captives; a minute community linked by blood, living and acting together, and obeying a common head, who was the elder brother, the father, the grandfather of the various members.

As there is reason to think that the clan was an almost universal basis of early society, a stage through which all society has travelled, and that it prevailed in Palestine at least before as well as after the appearance of Israel, a few words on the structure of this organisation may be in place here. It is a mistake to regard the clan system as a low form of society; both in Greece and Rome it survived in the presence of great refinement of manners, and its decay as a political force was only the necessary consequence of a mixture of races, the practice of emancipating slaves, and hospitality accorded to foreigners; by which the state was filled with persons without gentile relations. In Israel

and Judah, where like causes probably operated less freely, the clan system would seem to have lasted till the Captivity—and in great measure to have been restored after the Exile. But in Greece and Rome, as in Palestine, the clan, though long retained as a social frame, was much curtailed in its privileges in later times.

We may suppose that primitive society consisted of families, not yet of clans. There the father had absolute power over every member of his household. His privileges, in the case of the Aryan family, have been exhumed from



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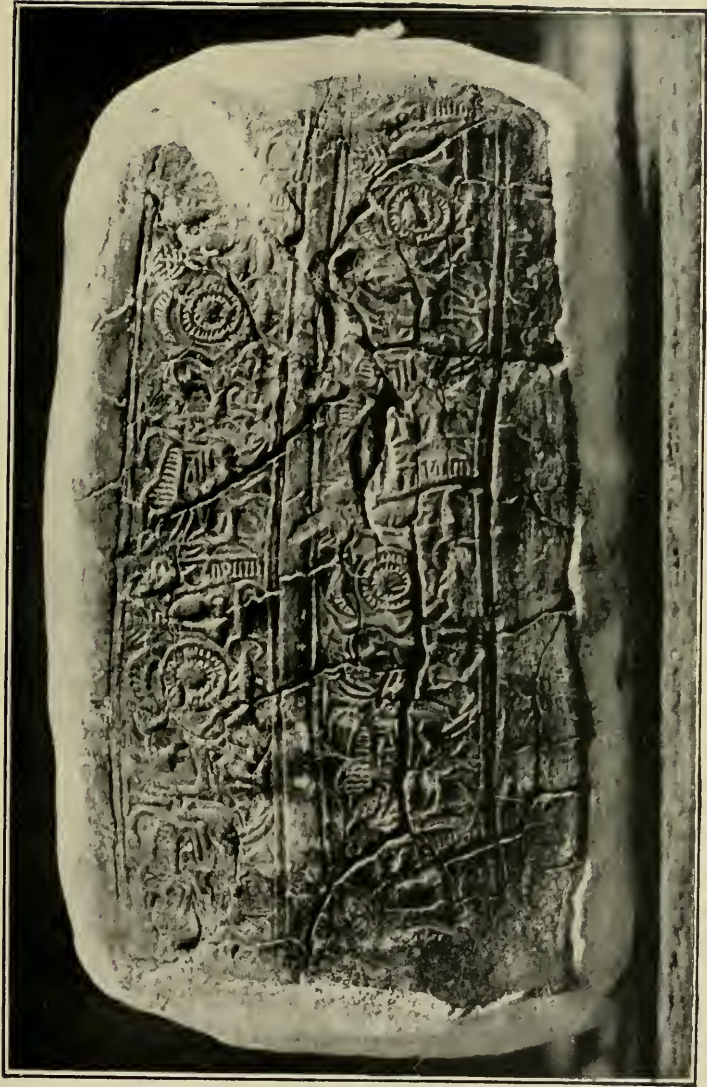
A SACRIFICIAL SCENE.

(*From a Seal.*)

the antiquities of the European nations; but the constitution of Aryan early society bears so striking a resemblance to that of Palestine, as pictured in the Old Testament and in monuments of earlier time, that we are tempted to regard them as fundamentally alike. The primitive Aryan father

was obeyed as the living representative of the family gods, the shades of deceased ancestors, whom it was believed he would rejoin after death. He was the priest and minister of these spirits, rendering to them the duty and the honour he exacted of his children. The latter were strictly his property; they had no appeal from his sentence, and his only judges were the ghosts of his ancestors. The rule of the father over his household was like that of the brain over the limbs; if there was no freedom, neither was there any injustice, and government was rather a care than a privilege.

The sole religion of the family was addressed to the



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A "ZODIACAL" TABLET, WITH EMBLEMS OF THE GODS.

ancestral spirits; there was as yet no distinction between the idea of a ghost and the idea of a god. The spirits were at once a powerful and a helpless folk; daily sacrifices were needed for their sustenance, and blood was their favourite food; when neglected they were irritable and spiteful. A cogent motive for begetting and preserving male children was that one's own ghost might be ritually entertained hereafter. When a family became extinct its ancestral spirits became evil spirits, without attachment to humanity.

As a sovereign unit the family made war on its neighbours and avenged its own injuries. If a member was injured or killed by a stranger, the family accepted the duty of avenging him. In primitive times no other kind of criminal justice existed. This mode of punishment is found the world over, wherever public authority is weak. In Israel a particular member of the family, called the redeemer or avenger of blood, the *go'el had-dâm*, was designated as the person by whose hand the duty must be achieved; he was not necessarily the chief or house-father, as may be gathered from the instance in Judg. viii. 20. When states became powerful enough to introduce criminal laws and set aside the powers of the family, they seem to have acted on the principle that the state adopted the injury as its own, and relieved the family of the duty of vengeance. Hence, in theory at least, the idea of vengeance still underlies criminal procedure, even in the most enlightened countries.

As families flourished and increased, they broke up; younger brothers set up households of their own. It often happened that a number of families settled in one district knew or believed themselves to be the offspring of a

common ancestor. Such families formed themselves into a clan by worshipping the ancestor in question, who became a god of a superior order in relation to the family ghosts. Doubtless in most cases there was actual community of blood between the families so related, but this was not indispensable, since valid kinship could be artificially created by the ceremony of adoption in the same way as individuals could be adopted into the family.

It is evident that the formation of clans was an act of abdication on the part of the house-fathers. Even such modest communities could come into being only by the pressure of danger. When matters of common concern were in agitation, the fathers, the sole free members of the clan, deliberated what should be done; the minority surrendered their will to the majority. This was the principle of the senate, or court of elders, an institution common to Greece, Italy, Palestine, Gaul, and probably many other lands. If more concentrated thought or prompt action were required, the senate elected a chief; and this office when often exercised became an hereditary privilege. The authority of the chief over the clan was like that of the father over the family, except that it was a little less sensitive and therefore more likely to weigh oppressively on the weaker members. As in the case of the house-father, the chief's duty also was religious, and the gentile deity was his only superior.

The social needs of mankind were the imperishable bases of the clan-system. Religious beliefs, the affections of nature, and self-preservation combined to render the clan a permanent body; and it was not large enough to be broken up by revolutions.

The tribe was a group of clans; the theory by which its units were held together was analogous to the theory by which the units of the clan were held together. A number of clans, finding themselves in possession of adjoining territories, knowing themselves to be of one race, and realising that they had many common interests, believed that they were children of a single ancestor; that ancestor became their god, a god as much superior to the gentile gods as these were to the household spirits. For purposes of war or diplomacy a grand chief or prince was chosen, and as large bodies of men are usually more susceptible than small to mechanical manipulation, the prince usually acquired the power and the character of a despot.

The blood-relationship which between members of a clan was usually real, evidently was likely more often to be imaginary between members of a tribe. In the biblical genealogies we find some evidence of the transference of clans from one tribe to another. The tribe was a political group, its religious and its sentimental ties were of secondary importance; its bulk and its comparative incohesiveness made it subject to revolution.

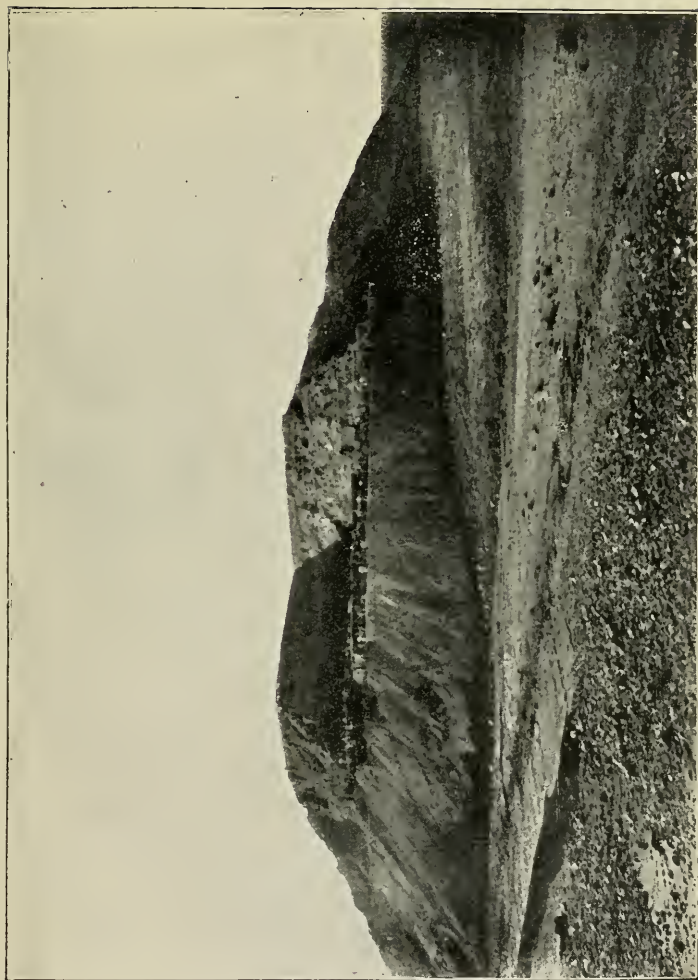
Another step was needed to produce the state. Israel was an association of tribes; so was Athens; so was Rome; and no larger combination, consistently with freedom, was known to the antique world. Here political motives were paramount, while religious and sentimental considerations were of little weight; but even here the fiction of a common ancestor and the worship of a national god were retained. Naturally the association of clan with clan and of tribe with tribe was not always voluntary and equitable. It might exist as a result of conquest, and in this case the

dominant body under an appearance of equality would probably retain many privileges and a real ascendancy.

While the framework of ancient society continued down to latest times in the form of families, clans and tribes, it is evident that much in the character of these groups underwent change. The political rights, for example, of the smaller bodies were one by one engrossed by the state. The absolute power of the house-father over the members of his family, the *patria potestas* of Roman law, was found to be prejudicial to the community; the right of private war between families, clans or tribes, was an evil of the worst kind; the duty of vengeance produced vendettas more obnoxious than the original crime. And so the state, where it could, snatched these prerogatives from its inferior members. Something of the same kind, we cannot doubt, took place with respect to religion; the state, sensible of the political might of religious feelings, took care to discourage the private religions of the subordinate groups, and sought to transfer the attachment of the citizens to the general god of the community. In proportion as the state prospered, the reputation of the national god increased; when the state was overtaken by disaster, the family and the gentile spirits reappeared from their obscurity (on this point see, for example, Isa. viii. 19, lxxv. 3, 4; Ezek. viii. 10).

How far the social fabric which we have sketched can be traced in the records and remains of the Syrian races may be observed in the sequel.

National groups, it is clear, were unknown in Syria at the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty; or, if known, existed only in the extreme north. As we have said above,



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GENERAL VIEW OF TELL-EL-HESI (LACHISH).

the tribal bond does not seem to have been very firmly established, and was as yet at the tentative stage. The clan, that indestructible and natural unit, was the usual form of political government. This, it must be added, was complicated by the decaying remains of Babylonian institutions; these in respect to religion survived in the form of a worship of imported gods; in respect to politics they are not to be guessed.

One is surprised by the great number of Syrian cities named in the Egyptian monuments, and the greater number named in the Old Testament; the latter, moreover, are distinguished from villages and unwalled towns. A like wonder is inspired by the histories of earlier Greece and Rome. It becomes apparent that all such cities were not Romes and Athens, embracing many tribes in their roll of citizens. Few as are the positive facts at our disposal, it is hardly conceivable that ancient Syria maintained a population many times greater than modern Syria does. The numerous cities of which the names are recorded could have held no extensive population; in many cases they were merely castles or fortresses, and were formidable rather from the poverty and the audacity of the inhabitants than from their numbers or resources.

This conclusion is fully supported by the survey of the ground on which some Syrian towns are known to have stood; and it is confirmed by the careful excavations which have been conducted at a few of these in recent years.

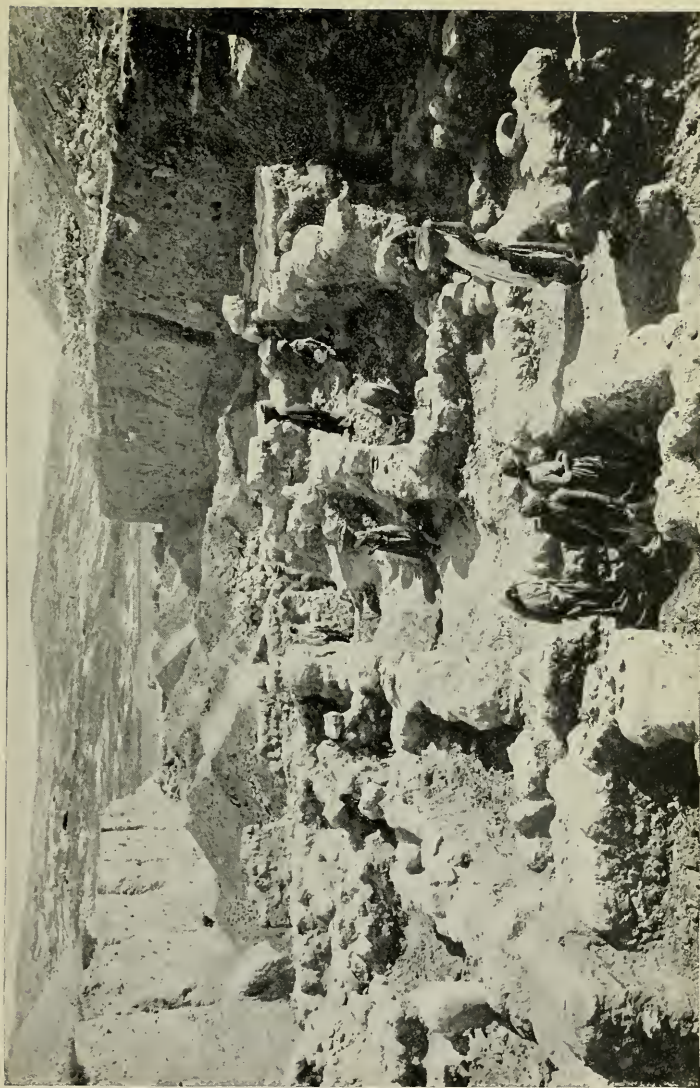
Many of them stood on hilltops, and their growth was limited by the ground. A traveller in Syria in those early days must have marked on every height the grim

walls of some citadel, perched aloft beyond the reach of surprise; nests of mischief and violence, many of them. There, huddled in the narrowest room, the citizens slept and spent their leisure. By day they descended from these eyries to till the fields or herd their flocks; sometimes to lie in wait for caravans or make war on their neighbours.

In the plains and the valleys, cities were as plentiful, and must have been of greater individual importance. But even there they show no great ambition to expand in area. The truth is, the smaller the circuit of the outer wall, the more easily was it defended in war; the dread of captivity, with all its atrocious consequences, was never absent from the thoughts of the antique nations. On religious grounds, too, the walls of a city, once consecrated by bloody rites, were not to be lightly removed. So what had served the fathers was held good enough for their sons. But the main reason is quite simple: the population of the ancient cities was small. The average city was the dwelling-place of a single clan, not of a tribe or federation.

There were exceptions. Hebron, in southern Palestine, means literally an association or confederacy; its earlier name, as we learn from Judg. i. 10, was Kirjath-arba, the city of four, which may indicate the number of clans comprised in the league. We readily may assume that other very important cities were in like manner inhabited by a number of clans. The Baal-berith (or Baal of the treaty or covenant) of Shechem was doubtless the common god of such an alliance.

Cities in the plains and the valleys were usually built on rising ground. In all cases the mounds grew higher



TRENCH ACROSS THE MOUND, GEZER.

Palestine Exploration Fund.

from age to age, as the accumulated rubbish of the past provided a new soil for each successive generation to build upon.

It is said in Josh. xi. 13 that the Israelites spared all the cities of northern Palestine that stood on tells or mounds; presumably in order that these should shelter their descendants. Thus the historian explains what must have been obvious when he wrote (no matter what theory we accept as to the date of composition): that all or most of the cities of Israel were the legacy of an earlier people. Doubtless evidences of this fact, in the way of fortresses, temples, idols, rude stone pillars and inscriptions, were visible to very late times. Many such evidences are extant to this day, but now buried under the ruins of later cities, themselves grass-grown, and marked only by the swell of the deserted knoll.

Recently some of these ancient mounds have been opened and their treasures unearthed. Digging down through the rubbish of ages, the excavator has reviewed in inverted order the remains of many superimposed cities. Each level has been found to represent an age, a race, a society, manners and surroundings different from those of the levels above and below. A vertical cutting has exhibited in the compass of a glance and in their concrete reality the whole mystery of historical change, the ebb and flow of races, the vicissitudes of the centuries.

The discoveries made at Gezer are especially noteworthy. This town lay in the western opening of the valley of Ajalon, the depression which divides middle from southern Palestine. It belonged to the plain rather than to the mountain, and it remained in the possession of Canaanites

long after the Israelite invasion. In Josh. x. 33 we read that "Horam king of Gezer came up to help Lachish" against Joshua; and in 1 Kings ix. 16, that Pharaoh king of Egypt burnt it with fire, and slew its inhabitants, and gave it for a present to his daughter, Solomon's wife; and that Solomon thereafter rebuilt it. It would appear that Gezer was a place of much importance; its position put it in contact at once with the people of the maritime plain and with the mountaineers both of middle and of southern Palestine; and it was in touch with the great highway of traffic between Africa and Asia.

The whole area of Gezer measured less than half a mile from east to west, by a tenth of a mile from north to south. This space was enclosed by a wall fourteen feet thick at the base—we cannot guess the height, since only the lower courses remain; but we may recall the tradition preserved by the Israelites of the terror inspired in their invading ancestors by the view of such walls as these, "great and walled up to heaven."

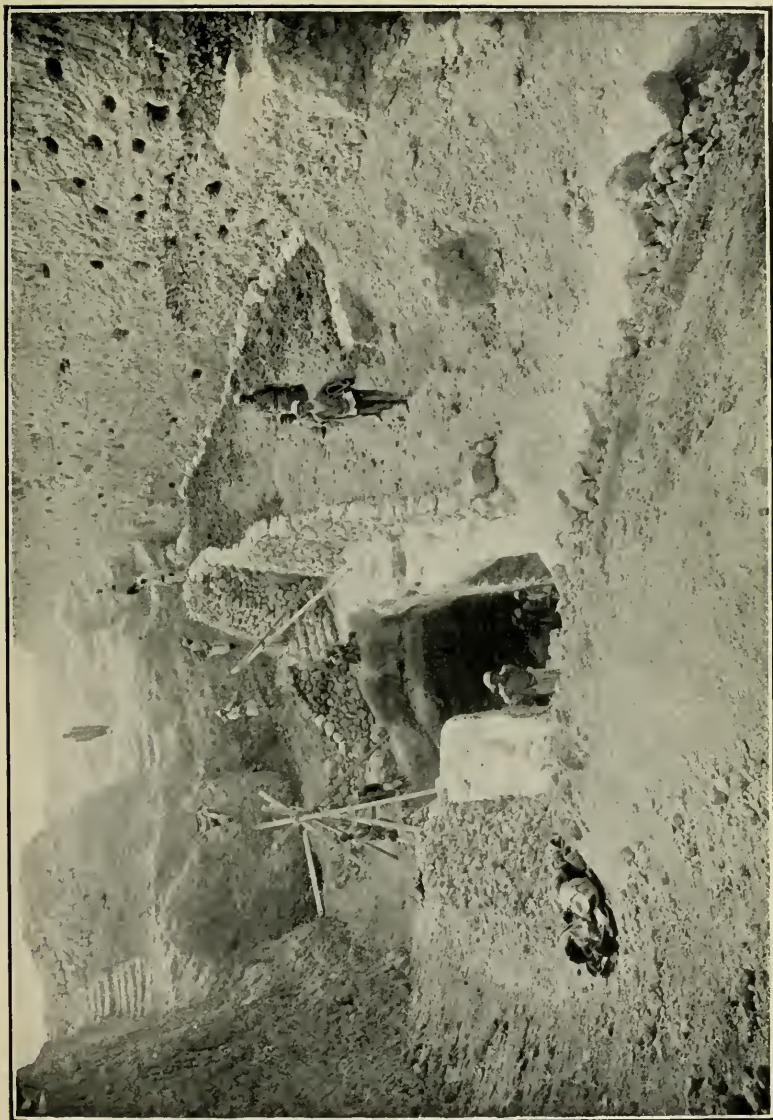
Within the great wall the people of Gezer must have lived a cramped and comfortless life, according to our notions. Their ideas of amenity and elegance were extremely simple, and they had no conception of the needs of health or convenience. As in oriental towns to the present day—where the same contempt of sanitation reigns—the dwellings were pressed closely together; there were no streets, but only alleys, dark, filthy, and unwholesome, full of capricious windings and dangerous pitfalls.

Opening on the main entrance of the town there was probably a market-place or forum, an open space facing the temple and the other public buildings, and giving access to

the city's byways and wynds. There travelling merchants were allowed to spread their wares, there the common life of the city was transacted, assemblies of the elders met, courts of justice were held, and when war was afoot the fighting men of the little state were marshalled.

Except possibly a few of the highest class, none of the dwellings were made of durable materials. Their decay and collapse provided a new soil on which later buildings were reared. Thus it comes that the flight of time is measured by the rise of the ground, and that objects of successive ages are found embedded in the ascending strata. The wealth of such remains has permitted the explorer to date the various levels with an approach to certainty. For example, dated Egyptian scarabs are found at a certain stage; thence a limit is set to the age of whatever is found below or above that stratum. Again, the topmost layer abounds in fragments of pottery which by its design clearly belongs to the fourth century B.C. And so of the rest. The continuous identity of a stratum from point to point is traced less by its uniform altitude than by its invariable relation to higher or lower strata, and more especially by the identity of its typical forms and designs in pottery. By unwearying investigation many facts of singular historical interest have been assembled, and new light has been shed on ancient manners.

The lowest stratum, based on the bare rock, is that of the cave-dwellers of the Stone Age. When did the mound of Gezer first become inhabited by men? Calculating by the accumulation of rubbish, the explorer is disposed to think before 4000 B.C. Without doubt the caverns which abound in the locality attracted these early occupants by



the shelter they provided against wild beasts and hostile neighbours. Instruments of flint and bone and examples of very rude pottery remain to tell us of that age. It would appear that the cave-men burned their dead, since one of the caverns, set apart as a burial chamber, contains a deposit of fine dust which has been found to be nothing but calcined human bones. Some indication, too, of the religious practices of the Stone Age is furnished by a funnel artificially cut through the rock to this chamber; therein, it has been suggested, their custom was to pour bloody libations to the subterranean gods, the unquiet spirits of their dead.

Before 3000 B.C., at the coming of the first Semitic invaders, the cave-men vanished from the scene. The remains of the new people indicate a more advanced culture, in which influences both from Babylonia and from Egypt are discerned. Disdaining the burrows of the former race, they made their dwellings on the surface, in houses of mud or crude bricks. Among the objects found at this level are Egyptian scarabs and Babylonian and Syrian seals; moulds apparently for casting arrow-heads of bronze; sundry brazen articles, including a remarkable serpent, possibly an idol; fragments of statues and amulets; terracotta plates with the figure of Ashtoreth in low relief.

Some at least of the usages of the neolithic people were adapted and continued by the Semitic invaders. Although they buried their dead without burning, they placed them in the burial chamber used by the older race; moreover, they inherited the cave-men's dread of those underground demons, for whose behalf they erected an altar close to the orifice of libations. The difference in religious conception indicated by the changed ritual is noteworthy. In the

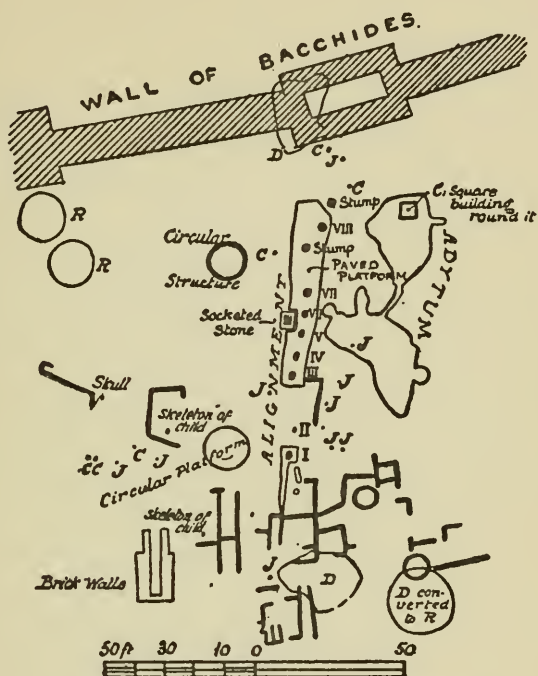
course of time the Semites appropriated other caves as burial-places, and it became a custom to bury under the floor of their dwellings.

The high place or sanctuary of the Semitic period is an extremely remarkable monument. It consists of a series of upright stones near the middle of the city. They are eight in number, and seem originally to have been ten or more. Ranged in a straight line, almost due north and south, they occupy a space of about thirty yards, being planted at (roughly) equal distances apart. Rude and uncouth, they affect the form of flattened pillars, and are perfectly rough and undressed, although some are polished on the top, probably by frequent unction during many centuries. In size they vary considerably; the tallest is 10 feet 9 inches high, the shortest 4 feet 5 inches. The greatest is over 12 feet in girth. One, the meanest in dimensions, seems to have been an object of special reverence, to judge by its highly polished end, worn by the lips of countless worshippers. Another appears to have been brought from a distance, since there are no rocks of a like composition near Gezer, and it has been suggested that this was a captured idol. For these stones appear to have possessed an inherent and essential sanctity not bestowed by any artist. In the middle of the row an altar stood, apparently intended to serve each and all of the divinities in turn.

The soil under the sanctuary has been found to contain many jars with the bones of newborn infants. Some of these bear marks of fire, but the greater number are uninjured, giving the impression that the infants had been placed alive in the jars and smothered with sand; this in



HIGH PLACE AT GEZER.
Before and after Excavation.



C = Cup-mark in the Rock D = Troglodyte Dwelling
 J = Jar-buried Infant R = Reservoir for Water

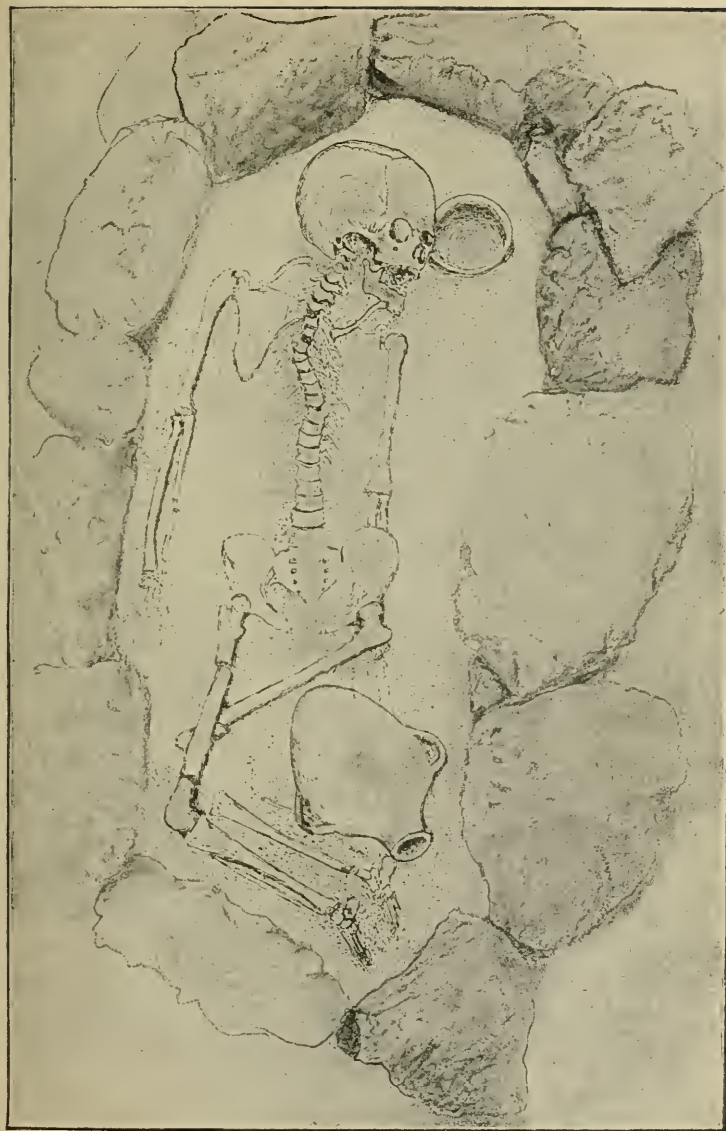
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EXCAVATION OF GEZER. GROUND PLAN OF HIGH PLACE.

fulfilment of a religious rite. According to a belief widely current in early times, the firstborn of all creatures, including mankind, were sacred to the gods. The burials in question seem to be those of children slaughtered in obedience to this principle. As we know from the Old Testament, this dismal rite survived in Palestine down to the Exile; and the Mosaic law contains regulations for the redemption of such victims, which are best explained as humane modifications of a custom too tenacious to be directly challenged.

That eventually a bloodless substitute was found for the firstborn child seems to be shown by another class of deposits, of which many examples occur at a level rather higher than the last, a lamp within a bowl, over which a second bowl was inverted. Did the lamp typify the infant life which ought to have been extinguished? The practice of substitutional sacrifices was very familiar in antiquity; a domestic animal was killed in place of a child, wine or oil was poured for blood, fruits and herbs were offered instead of flesh. The burial of a lamp is interpreted as a formal compliance, by a more enlightened people, with the horrid ritual of a religion they had outgrown. These deposits do not occur before a stage corresponding with the later period of the Judean monarchy. It can be imagined that a reform so daring, so fraught with imaginary danger, so expressive of contempt for older religious fears, must have sprung from something little short of a social revolution.

From the first arrival of the Semites in Palestine until its invasion by the Egyptians of the eighteenth dynasty, it is probable that fifteen or twenty centuries had elapsed; and it is natural to suppose that many vicissitudes in the



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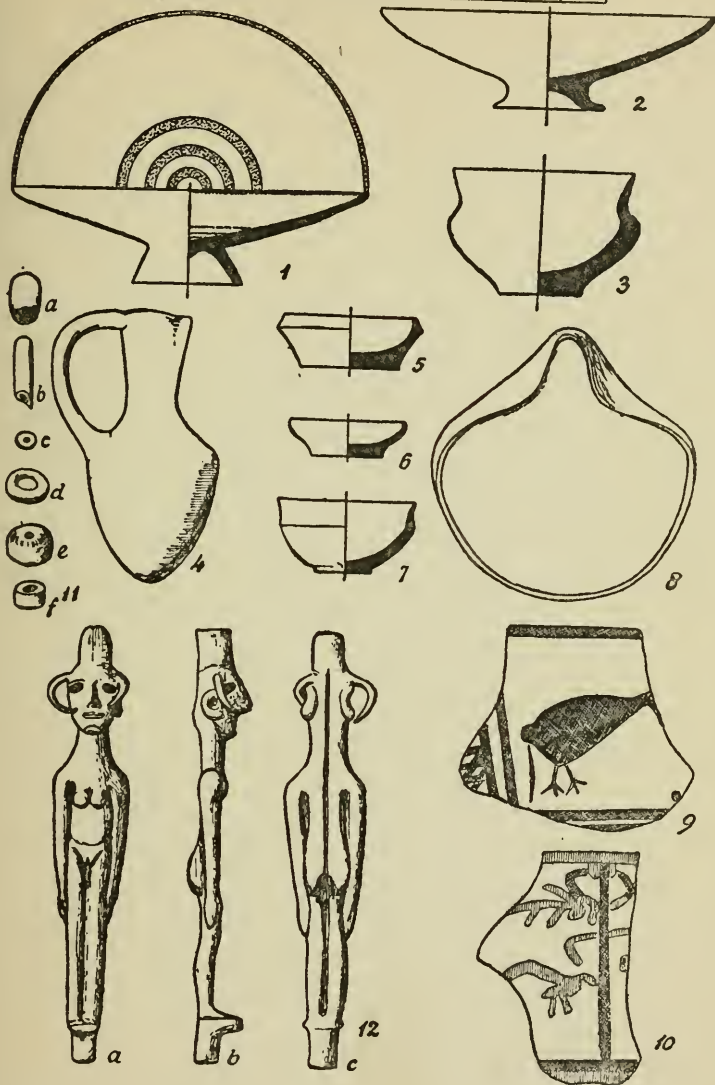
EXCAVATION OF GEZER. FOUNDATION SACRIFICE.

occupation of the land had occurred in that interval. There had been the (assumed) conquest by Babylon, both before and after the Canaanite invasion specifically so called ; and, in fact, we find many indications of Babylonian influence upon the native arts, crude and barbarous as these continue to be. Egypt also had been in contact with Palestine before the Hycsos period ; there are numerous Egyptian remains at Gezer which are assigned to the twenty-fifth century B.C.—a deposit quite apart from the remains of the eighteenth dynasty. Yet in the long period mentioned, notwithstanding the civilising effect of such foreign intercourse, Palestine seems to have made but little advance in culture, as far as can be judged by the remains.

It was the age of bronze ; no traces of iron occur until Israelitic times. There is some reason to think that iron was first imported by the Philistines, who do not appear in any monument, and probably did not enter Palestine, till near the close of the Egyptian supremacy. From such passages as Judg. i. 19 we learn what a real ascendancy was conferred by the possession of the new metal, or was attached to it by superstition ; 1 Sam. xiii. 19–22 shows with what acrid jealousy the secrets of smithing were preserved by the importers.

Discoveries like those of Gezer have been made in the valley of Jezreel, at the mounds where Megiddo and Taanach stood, and at sundry places in the Shephelah. At Taanach, remains of a number of strong towers are found. One of them contains a vault which seems to have been used for storing written documents—not letters on papyrus or parchment, but clay tablets such as are found in Assyrian

figs. 1-8 2 in 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
figs. 9-12 1 in



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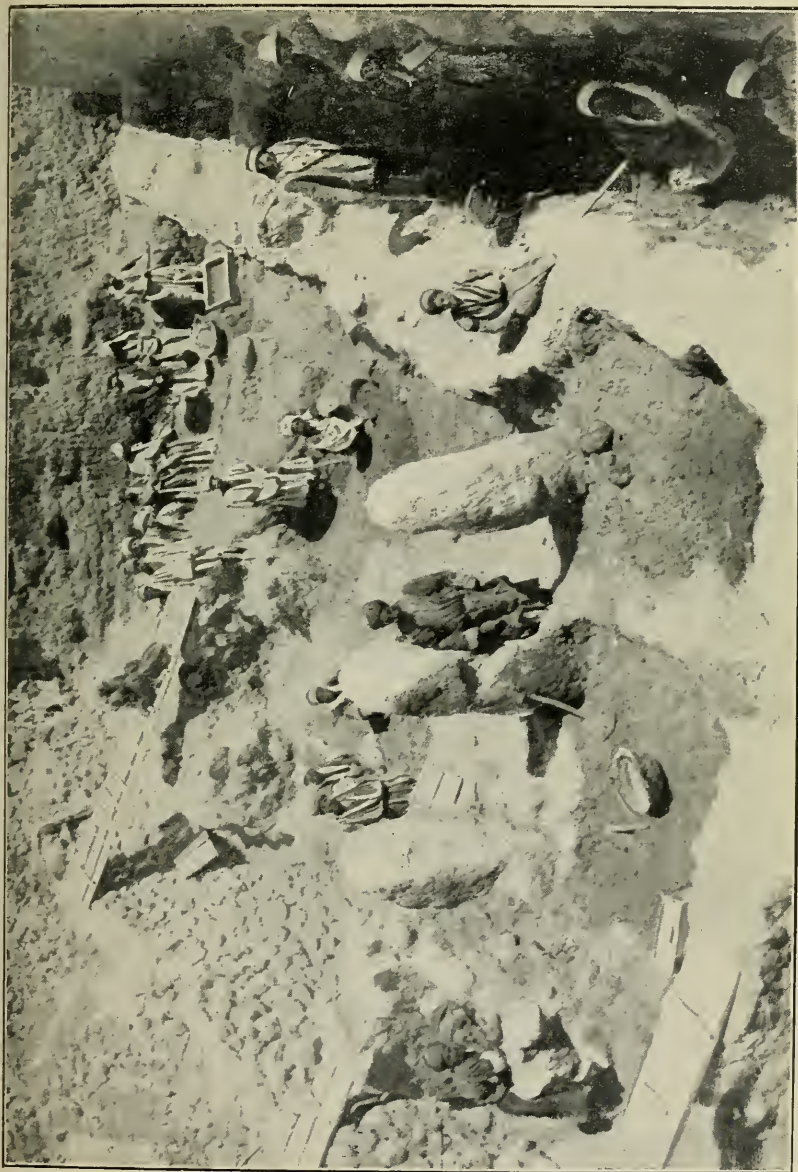
EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

GROUP OF POTTERY, BEADS, AND BRONZE FIGURE.

and Babylonian excavations, and written in the Babylonian language and writing. These letters are, however, concerned with the intimate affairs of one Istar-yashur, who seems to have been a chief, perhaps the governor of the place; one of them contains a list of names, possibly those of the warriors whom each elder or house-father could assemble for war. A statue of Ashtoreth was also found here, a sacred pillar, altars and other religious objects.

There can be no doubt that these unexpected glimpses give us a fairly normal picture of life in ancient Syria. The only towns likely to differ materially in type from those that have been explored were the seaports. All we know of the people of the coast shows that they excelled their inland neighbours in civilisation, and especially in the material side of civilisation. Were it likely that archæology should one day discover the antiquities of the coast towns, we might expect to find tangible evidence of their superiority in works of luxury and art. The extant remains of these towns, though few, are an earnest of that hope.

The higher culture of the seaports seems to have been due solely to their favourable geographical situation. There is no reason to think their natives were of a stock originally distinct from that of the inland race, who spoke an identical language. It may be observed in this regard that the specific name of Phœnicians given to the coast people has prejudiced the question by raising the idea of a specific race. The name seems to have had no racial application, and implied merely the occupants of a certain geographical area. In the Old Testament there is no corresponding inclusive name; the cities, Sidon, Tyre, Acco, are named singly or severally, and are never described as forming



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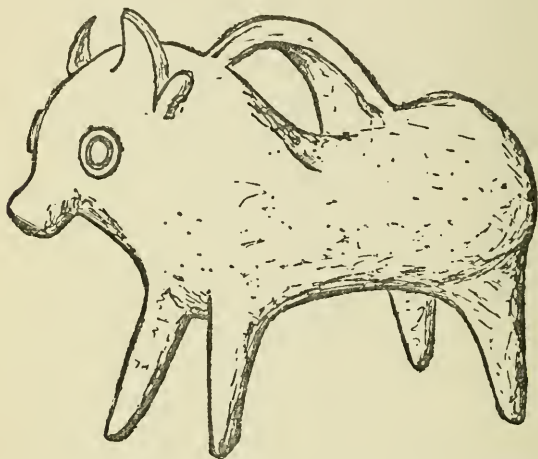
VIEW OF SUPPOSED HIGH PLACE AT GATH.

a whole. The terms Canaan, Canaanite are, on the other hand, too general, including as they do the inland as well as the maritime people.

We may take it that the narrow plain which the Phœnicians cultivated was the area to which they were restricted by the pressure of the landward tribes. It was their refuge rather than their choice. Though singularly fertile, it was insufficient for their needs; the Phœnicians were one of the few nations of antiquity that were obliged to import the necessaries of life. Their addiction to commerce was thus rather forced on them by circumstances than deliberately sought as an ambition. Other nations trafficked in luxuries, but they to live. But for a trading career their position was peculiarly suited. The mountains that towered above them were a bulwark which invasion never overflowed. Only by certain breaks in the mountain wall could a hostile army enter their plain. And when the plain was occupied by an enemy, they retained an open gate by the sea, and thus made light of a land blockade. They were not indeed secure from the possibility of war, but they were spared that constant preparation and vigilance which engrossed the activity of the inland tribes. Liberated by their comparative security, and stimulated by their needs, the Phœnicians dedicated themselves without reserve to commerce, and cultivated it more exclusively, perhaps, than any other people of antiquity.

The seaports thus became seats of a highly special kind of civilisation; a kind which, perhaps, was not without great defects. The Phœnicians were industrious, ingenious, artistic, lovers of peace. But it is sufficiently well known that excessive attention to trade and industry, without

other counterbalancing forms of activity, begets a one-sided national character. That freedom from alarm which let the Phœnicians freely cultivate their trading instincts and artificing faculties diverted their minds from the common means of civil defence. Absorbed in peaceful gain, they abandoned to others the cares and the profits of war. They put undue faith in the power of wealth and the

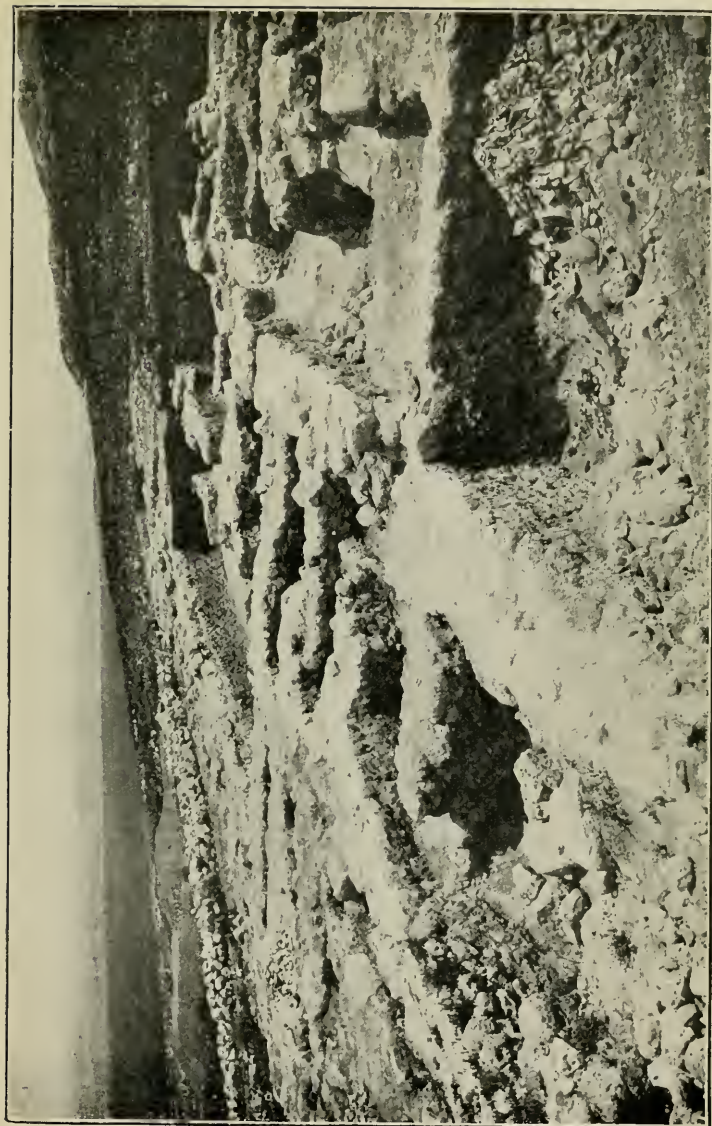


[*Palestine Exploration Fund.*

FIGURE OF THE COW DIVINITY.

force of considerations of mere interests ; a faith which must often have been strained by the behaviour of ruder races in whom the primitive passions were sometimes more effective than motives of calculation. When such guarantees failed, the policy of the Phœnicians had no further resource.

They appear, too, to have been lacking in the talent of political combination. Each of their cities was a sovereign power ; there was no tie between one and another, save that of a common culture and a common intercourse. Their



Palestine Exploration Fund.

FOUNDATION WALLS OF OLD CANAANITE CASTLE.

freedom (as in the case of the states of Greece) favoured the healthy growth of whatever was native in the talent of each. But in war the absence of concerted action exposed them to fall singly before a power which they might have repelled by timely union.

The chief towns of Phœnicia, at the time of the eighteenth dynasty, were Gebal, Arvad, Simyra, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, Acco and Japho.

Of the inland people of Northern Syria we know nothing; those of Central Syria are comprehended under the name of Amurri, the Amorites of Scripture. The latter term seems to imply a nation or combination of tribes forming a territorial state. As used in the monuments, the term Amurri might be taken as a geographical designation solely, embracing the inhabitants of Lebanon and Antilibanus. At a later stage we shall find the Amurri forming important political unions; and it well may be that these unions, of which the Egyptian evidence shows us the beginning, may be represented in their early decay by the biblical Amorite kingdoms.

Of the non-Semitic peoples of Syria we have little information for the period in hand. It fairly may be inferred from the occasional irruption of northern races into Syria during the historical period, that like irruptions took place earlier. If such was the case, the strangers did not greatly influence the racial type of Syria; but themselves rather conformed to the Syrian type, in which they finally disappeared. At a later time the Hittites were to come in irresistible force and establish their dominion in Northern and Middle Syria; the Philistines and the Zaccala (or Thekel) were to entrench themselves on the maritime

plain of Southern Syria. But these invasions did not take place until the downfall of the Egyptian empire, of which we have now to relate the rise.

It is possible that races cognate to the Hittites already occupied Northern Syria.

Later, we shall find the important kingdom of Mitannia extending along the Euphrates; its language, of a wholly different type from those of the Semitic races, may have been a variety of the Hittite speech. Naharina, a term which early disappears from the monuments of the eighteenth dynasty, may have been the same country.

The situation of Ugaritia and Nuchashia, both of which lay on the borders of the direct rule of Egypt, is doubtful. By some scholars they are placed in the extreme north of Syria, the former on the lower Orontes, the latter on the Euphrates. Others, incredulous in regard to the extent of the Egyptian empire, find both places in the region of Damascus.

CHAPTER V

THE CONQUEST OF SYRIA BY EGYPT

WHEN the remnant of the expelled Hycsos people withdrew beyond the desert, they doubtless found an asylum among a kindred people. According to the tradition of a later age, they remained to form a permanent ingredient in the population of Southern Syria, and were the builders of Jerusalem. There is nothing in the monumental evidence to disprove or confirm this story.

Five years after the fall of Avaris, the Egyptians, led by their warrior king, pursued the Hycsos into Syria and wasted the south of that land. They overthrew Sharuhén, a frontier fortress which the fugitives had built or occupied. Following the coast road, the usual route of trade and war, they advanced to Zahi (which is taken to mean the Phœnician plain); on the return journey they ascended the tablelands and smote the mountaineers with terror.

We may suppose this expedition to have been provoked by some aggressive movement on the part of the ousted people. A warrior by origin, Amosis was called by circumstances to regulate the restoration of domestic order and to lay aside views of conquest. The visit to Syria was not repeated in his day; but he had struck the first blow, and

pointed the way to a conquest that was to be of great importance to history.

Twice in his reign northern Egypt was visited by tumults which were indicative of strongly Semitic sympathies in the people of that part of the land. It is quite possible that a large population, partly if not wholly Semitic in blood, had been left behind by the Hycsos; preferring servitude and plenty in Egypt to the comfortless freedom of the desert. Such a people was the most likely to rebel whenever the Egyptian force was fully occupied in the remote south; as seems to have been the case when these outbreaks happened. But Amosis was promptly on the scene, and the rebels were speedily crushed and put to death.

The reconstitution of Egypt, desolated by the long wars of the later Hycsos period, was an immense work, of pressing importance. It fully occupied the rest of this prince's reign. There was, besides, occasional need of arms towards the south. Syria was thus left undisturbed for a time. But the political disunion of that country invited conquest; and it is unquestionable that the new dynasty, as soon as domestic affairs permitted, had marked it out for invasion.

The monuments of AMENOPHIS I, son and successor of Amosis, do not indicate that any Syrian expedition was undertaken in his day; although we know that he fought against the Nubians and the Libyans. It was left for THOTHMOSIS I, son of Amenophis, to reduce the northern land, fifty years after the expulsion of the Hycsos. In that interval the internal affairs of Egypt had been completely restored, and an era of high prosperity had been inaugurated.

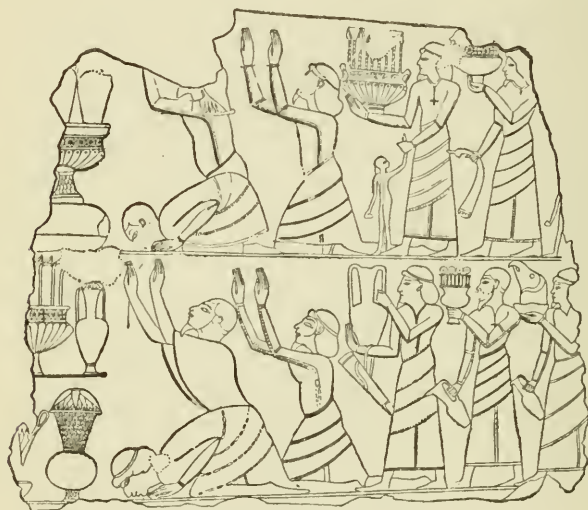
The immediate occasion of the attack is unknown. The monument of an Egyptian general who had now warred under three reigns, informs us that Thothmosis "went to the Retennu for the purpose of taking satisfaction upon the countries." The words imply that relations, political rather than merely commercial, already existed between Syria and Egypt. The Egyptian king took advantage of the bad faith, or the remissness, or the divisions of the Syrian people, to reduce them more completely under his power.

We have no details of this important campaign. Thothmosis traversed all Syria and reached Naharina, the riverland, possibly the region of the upper Euphrates. There "he found that enemy who had plotted conspiracy." It would appear that the Syrians were quite incapable of defending their liberty; they submitted to the invader without a contest; it was not until Naharina was reached that the people were found in arms. There, as we have noticed in the close of the last chapter, sundry kingdoms existed; a political growth which had not yet developed in Syria proper. The defence offered in their case may perhaps be associated with their more advanced political standing. A battle was fought and the Syrians (or Mitannians) were defeated; many prisoners were captured and much spoil was taken. As a memorial of this notable victory, and as a landmark to indicate the extent of his conquest, the victorious king erected a triumphal pillar on the bank of the Euphrates. Beyond that limit the Egyptian empire never in its greatest splendour aspired.

That the expedition here reported was effective in securing the submission of Syria is proved by the fact that

tribute was thereafter for many years paid to Thothmosis and his successors. Thus was laid the foundation of an empire which continued to be a possession of the crown of Egypt for several centuries; and which survived as a claim and a ground of war down to the day when both Syria and Egypt fell under the dominion of Rome.

Thothmosis I was succeeded by his son THOTHMOSIS II;



ASIATICS BRINGING TRIBUTE.
(British Museum.)

the latter, in a monument dated in the first year of his reign, asserts that the northern boundary of his dominion was at the lakes of Syria. Mention of a northern war occurs in the tomb-inscription of an aged general, Pennecheb, who as a lad had fought under Amosis, and who served and survived his great-grandson; he says: "I followed the king Acheperenra" (the personal name of Thothmosis II); "I brought away from the land of the Shasu very many

prisoners." Of the expedition here alluded to, no other record is known.

During his lifetime Thothmosis was overshadowed by the ambition and the energy of his sister-wife AMENSE. After his death, this remarkable woman obtained possession of the throne to the prejudice of her nephew and stepson, who accounted himself the rightful heir. She, however, was sustained in her usurpation by the awful respect in which the Egyptian people held their royal race.

We may remark in passing that Amosis, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, had married his sister Nefertari, and their successors were almost exclusively descended from these two persons; the sons and daughters who were nearest the throne being preferably joined in marriage, in order that the blood of the original founders of the dynasty might be preserved in the utmost purity. Hitherto there had been but two or three cases in which this rule was broken. The mother of Thothmosis I does not appear to have been of the sacred lineage; at least her genealogy is not to be traced. Again, Thothmosis II seems to have had two wives: Amense, his royal sister, who bore him two daughters, but no sons; and a lady of inferior rank, who bore the future king, THOTHMOSIS III. In Breasted's view, Thothmosis III was a son of Thothmosis I, and consequently a half-brother of Thothmosis II and Amense. This writer's account of the intrigues and struggles of the three claimants is a highly interesting but complicated piece of reconstruction.

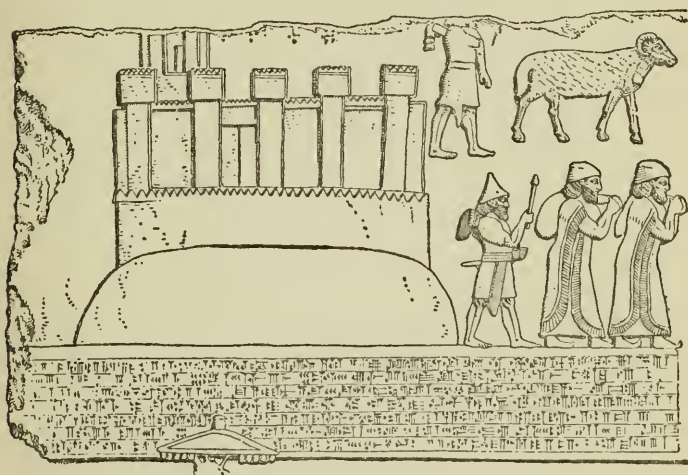
The Egyptian sovereigns, and especially the founders of a dynasty, were the objects of a genuine worship which we may regard as an extreme and rare development of the

ancestor-worship mentioned in the last chapter. In Egypt that worship was participated in by the whole people, not confined to the family of the deified persons. When the tribal system was abolished in Egypt, and a united and despotic monarchy took its place, we may suppose that the early kings concentrated in themselves the worship hitherto paid to the tribal heroes; thus their pyramids were at once tombs and temples. That these cumbrous monuments could not save their builders from contempt and ultimate oblivion was perceived by the later kings, who sought other modes of immortality. Amosis and Nefertari were adored long after the extinction of their family and the rise of new dynasties, with an adoration that cannot be distinguished from that of the gods of higher rank. It is evident that all rulers could not hope for such popularity, and the founders of a dynasty were more celebrated than ordinary kings; but the worship of living and deceased kings was a general rule. That worship, as well as the singular marriage-custom of the Pharaohs, survived to Ptolemæan times; the former, and to some extent the latter custom reappeared in the Roman empire.

Vigorous at home, the queen Amense was inactive in her foreign policy. According to the testimony of her successor, who may have been less than just to her memory, the Egyptian authority in Syria grew feeble during her reign; the tributaries became negligent and lapsed into arrears, at once a symptom and a cause of disaffection. Thence to defiance and open rebellion the step was an easy and usual one. During the twenty-two years of her reign, the young prince had passed a life of degradation. From his obscurity he keenly observed the march of events,

and was filled with indignation by the defection of Syria. When by the death of Amense he succeeded to the free exercise of royal power, he proved himself one of the greatest kings who had ever occupied the throne of Egypt.

A century had now passed since the expulsion of the Hycsos; half a century since the conquest of Syria by Thothmosis I. Syria had relapsed into its former state,



AN ASIATIC FORTRESS.

and had renounced its allegiance to Egypt. The recovery of this important province was the business to which the new monarch first addressed himself, and it became the chief work of his life.

The first campaign of Thothmosis III is dated in the twenty-third year of his reign, but this was his first year of actual power; he officially dated his accession from the death of Thothmosis II, ignoring the female usurper. In the annals of his reign, inscribed by his command on the

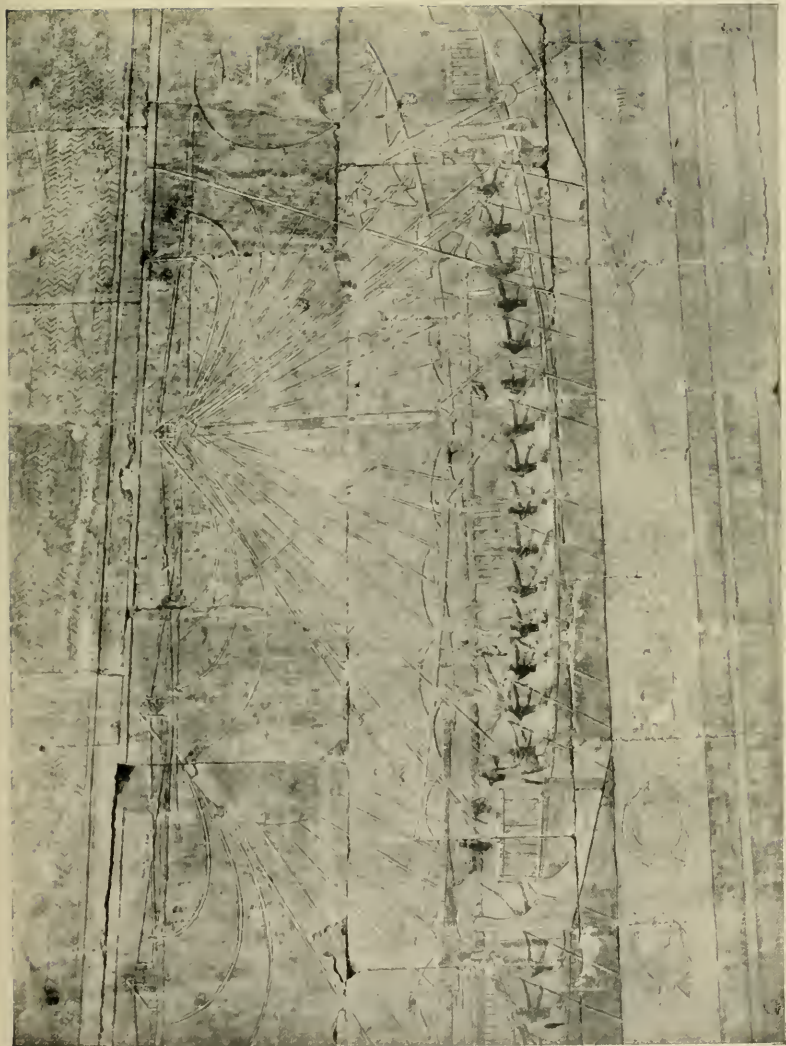
walls of the temple of Ammon, a detailed and highly interesting account of the expedition is given.

The whole land of Syria, as he says, having rebelled against Egypt, Thothmosis assembled an army at the city of Zalu, on the frontier, and set out across the desert. Gaza was reached in nine days. This town, the last Asiatic station on the great highway of continental traffic, existed only by the preservation of peace and the regularity of trade; it was rather a halting-place of merchants than a town of the usual description; and it seems in all ages to have been somewhat international in population. Its attachment to the Egyptian power was steady; it was generally the last place in Syria to revolt and the first to rally.

Holding their way along the coast, the Egyptian army reached the plain of Sharon without meeting with resistance. Here further advance is hindered by a range of mountains, a spur of the highlands of Samaria, which runs in a north-westerly direction and terminates out at sea in the headland of Carmel. On the north-eastern side of this range lies the plain of Jezreel, or Esdraelon.

On his arrival at the fortress of Yehem, in the plain of Sharon, Thothmosis commanded a discourse to be pronounced to the troops, and told them what he had learned: that the king of Kadesh (at the lake of Homs?), at the head of a combination of Syrian states, lay at Megiddo, in the plain of Jezreel; with him were the chiefs of all the countries, as far as Naharina, that formerly had been obedient to Egypt; and his purpose was to defend Megiddo against the Egyptian arms.

It is evident that the troops were not absolutely un-



Pirmiti.

EGYPTIAN WAR GALLEY.

moved by these tidings, or perhaps by flying reports which had already reached them. In particular, they canvassed the probability of an attack by the enemy while they were crossing the Carmel range.

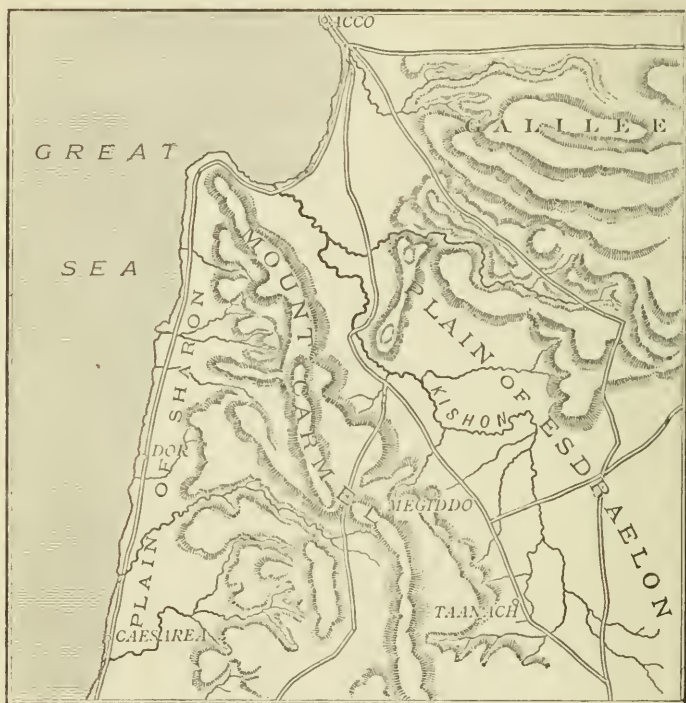
There were three passes by which an army might be led from Sharon to Jezreel. One of these was narrow and dangerous; a handful of foes in possession of the overhanging heights could easily derange the passage of a large army. A second led from Ziftha, on this side, to Megiddo on that. A third, some miles to the south of the second, led from Aluna to Taanach.

A plan of the theatre of war readily presents itself to the mind: the mountains lie diagonally between the two plains; Ziftha and Aluna, on the hither side, make pairs respectively with Megiddo and Taanach on the further side, the former pair lying some miles to the north or north-west of the latter. The accompanying map shows the modern roads.

The Egyptians, like some other conquering races, were cautious rather than brave. Aware of this side of the national character, Thothmosis announced that he would proceed by the dangerous pass, with such as should follow him; but those who would might choose another road. The Egyptians unanimously declared their intention of following his majesty.

We cannot doubt that the passage of the mountains was a masterpiece of military art, as then practised. It was planned and supervised by the Pharaoh in person. The rear was safeguarded against surprise by a garrison left behind at Aluna. The transit was not completed without a skirmish with the enemy, but the measures taken by

Thothmosis against surprise were found effectual; the Syrians fell back and suffered the march to be conducted in quiet. The Egyptians proceeded, apparently in single file, the horsemen leading their horses by the bridle. The



MOUNT CARMEL.

rearguard was yet in Aluna while the van was going forth into the valley of Jezreel; so long was the line of march.

The passage of the mountains occupied much of the day, and the sun declined before the rearguard debouched into the valley. Battle was therefore deferred till the morrow. The Egyptians occupied an advantageous position on the

slopes overhanging Megiddo and Taanach; there they encamped for the night, and usefully occupied themselves, as exhorted by the Pharaoh, in preparing for the struggle. The monarch's great tent was pitched, and he received the correspondence by which a service of couriers kept him informed of the general affairs of Egypt.

The morrow came; all due dispositions having been taken, command was issued to form in line of battle. The right wing occupied the hill above Taanach, the left extended to the north-west of Megiddo. The enemy lay in the plain below. Thothmosis "went forth in his chariot of electrum adorned with his weapons of war, like Horus armed with talons, the lord of might"; under his leadership the host advanced to battle.

As the Egyptians came in close quarters with the enemy, their orderly and solid front presented so dreadful an aspect that the Syrians were smitten with panic. Such is the monumental account: "When they saw his majesty prevailing over them, they fled headlong toward Megiddo, as if terrified by spirits." It was a rout rather than a battle. When the fugitives drew near the strong city, the gates were found to be shut; in presence of the Egyptians, the townsmen feared to open even to their protectors. But ropes or cloths were lowered from the battlements and by this means the warriors were drawn up. With their usual diligence the pursuers might have captured the retreating foe, and even carried the city itself by storm; but they were delayed by an unusual cause. The Syrian warriors, in their eagerness to escape, had leaped from their war-chariots of gold and silver, works of exquisite art. These, with their horses, furnishings and arms, were

abandoned in the field, since they could not be saved, and fell a ready and valuable spoil to the victor.

The admirable temper of the Egyptian soldiery did not exclude a weakness in respect to booty. The attraction of these first-fruits of conquest diverted them from the pursuit of the enemy. That their admiration was not misplaced is proved by the recent discovery, in an Egyptian tomb, of Syrian chariots of the most exquisite beauty and costliness. While the pursuers loitered to inspect these rare objects of art, the fugitives to the last man were drawn up into the city. It does not appear that Thothmosis was greatly enraged by the unsoldierly behaviour of his troops. Spoil, in all ages the genuine motive of wars, was then the frankly admitted and unquestioned object. The booty was secured and inventoried, and the whole army rejoiced, giving praise to Ammon for the victory, and glorifying his majesty.

Thothmosis again issued commands, that Megiddo should be closely invested, saying: "Inasmuch as every chief of all the countries who have rebelled are in it, the capture of Megiddo is as the capture of a thousand towns." Provisionally shielded by a rampart of the green fruit-trees of the suburbs, the whole army surrounded the town and cast up a thick wall around it, a certain length being apportioned to each company, and the whole being accomplished with a tireless industry and an organisation of labour which explains the building of the pyramids and other gigantic works. To this wall Thothmosis gave the glorious name: "Mencheperra-aah-setu" (Thothmosis III, encloser of the Sati). A single gate was made, and it was decreed that none should escape from the town except such as presented themselves as prisoners at that entrance.

Bonfile.

MOUNT CARMEL.



Megiddo was the military key of Syria; it commanded at once the highway northward to Phœnicia and Cœle-syria and the road across Galilee to Damascus and the valley of the Euphrates. It was, moreover, the chief town in a district of great fertility, the frequently contested possession of many races. The vale of the Kishon and the region of Megiddo were inevitable battlefields. Through all history they retained that qualification; there many of the great contests of south-western Asia have been decided. In the history of Israel it was the scene of frequent battles. From such associations the district achieved a dark nobility; it was regarded as a predestined place of blood and strife; the poet of the Apocalypse has clothed it with awe as the ground of the final conflict between the powers of light and darkness. By a fatal coincidence, this valley was to see the turning-point of the greatest military career of the modern world.

Situated on a hill, a lateral offshot of the mountain range, Megiddo was a strongly-built place. In the state of the art of war in such early times, the besieged had much in their favour. Unless threatened with hunger, there was much probability of their tiring out the assailants. In the present case, the absolute precautions taken by Thothmosis rendered foraging or reprovisioning of the city impossible, and hunger aided the besiegers. The Syrians resisted with obstinacy and the siege was protracted; but in the end the relentless precision and the ample resources of the Egyptian proved efficacious. The city surrendered at discretion; the rebellious chiefs of many tribes came forth to throw dust on their heads and to sue for peace at the conqueror's gateway.

It is added that a journal of these proceedings was daily transmitted to Egypt and preserved in the temple of Ammon—to be afterwards transcribed indelibly on its walls.

The capture of Megiddo was rendered memorable by the quantity and value of its spoil. Themselves an artistic people, the Egyptians were astonished by the profusion in which they found objects of luxury and finery, many of these being of a material, a design, and even a use foreign to their notions.

Some of the leading items were: a thousand chariots of war, two hundred suits of armour, bows and other arms innumerable, vessels, furniture, ornaments in rare metals, costly wood, precious stones. The catalogue, although much of it is unintelligible to us, still affords a striking picture of the culture of this early people. Their riches of a grosser kind are displayed in the capture of two thousand horses, as many head of cattle, and more than ten times the number of sheep and goats. To this list were added 150,000 bushels of corn, estimated as the produce of 10 square miles of corn-land; without counting all that the soldiers had consumed during the siege. It was characteristic of the methodical spirit of the Egyptians to survey the cultivated land of Megiddo, in order to check the quantity of corn it was capable of yielding.

CHAPTER VI

SYRIA AN EGYPTIAN PROVINCE

THE fall of Megiddo by no means involved the submission of Syria. The general conquest of the land was to be achieved only in detail, and it occupied the whole reign of this active ruler. Almost yearly during twenty years Thothmosis marched against his unruly tributaries, and visited in succession every part of Syria. Wherever contumacy reared its head, he was present with lightning haste; and he thought nothing gained until he had stamped out the last embers of disaffection.

We must regret that the events of succeeding years are related with no such wealth of details as are those of the first campaign. In most cases only the proceeds of tribute and spoil are mentioned; for the Egyptians these were the important things; passing notice is taken from time to time of matters of greater historical interest, and of these we take a few extracts:

In his twenty-fourth and following years, Thothmosis advanced northward, endeavouring to reach the old goal of the empire at the Euphrates. His difficulty in attaining that point is a proof that Syria was not incapable of a united resistance. Among the tribute-bearers of the twenty-fourth year is named "the chief of Assuru." The

name has been referred to the Galilean tribe of Asher, afterwards numbered among the children of Israel; but it is not impossible that the distant king of Assyria sought thus early to propitiate the rising power in the west.

In his twenty-ninth year, and fifth campaign, he took a city of which the name is lost, far in the north; and in returning southwards smote the coast city of Arvad and overran the Phœnician plain. He found "its orchards full of their fruit. There were found their wines abundant in their wine-presses, as water flows down; their corn was on the threshing floor—more abundant than the sand of the shores. The army was satiated with their shares." Among the spoil were six thousand jars of wine. It is added that the Egyptian soldiers "were drunk and anointed with oil every day, as in the festivals of Egypt."

In his thirtieth year, he drew near the city of Kadesh, on the lake of Homs; spoiled it, cut down the trees and reaped the corn thereof. There is an interesting note illustrative of his general policy: the sons and brothers of the submitting chiefs were brought to Egypt as hostages; if a chief died, his son was liberated and sent to assume the succession. Thus in process of time Syria was ruled by a generation of chiefs who had been educated in Egypt, and who inclined to the Egyptian interest.

In his thirty-first year, admiration of the agricultural riches of Syria is again expressed. At each encampment, the army was supplied with "good bread and common bread, with oil, incense, wine, honey, fruits, more abundant than anything known to the soldiers of his majesty, without exaggeration." The reports of such wealth only

the more excited the cupidity of the Egyptians, and stimulated them to new efforts of valour.

The campaign of the thirty-third year was one of decisive importance: the Euphrates was reached, and a tablet bearing an inscription of Thothmosis III was erected beside the tablet of his grandfather Thothmosis I. There the king fixed the limit of the Egyptian empire; but proceeding northward he attacked and subdued the people of Naharina, beyond that limit. They appear to be the nation which afterwards, under the name of



HITTITE CHARIOT (AFTER MEYER).

Mitannia, entered into a close alliance with Egypt on almost equal terms.

In the same campaign, Thothmosis deigned to accept tribute of the Hittites, a race which is now mentioned for the first time in the history of Egypt; but which was destined to be mightily concerned therewith at a later time.

In the enumeration of tribute occurs this note: "Behold, the forts were provisioned with all sorts of things according to the rate of the yearly tax." From this it is evident that a permanent army of occupation was found needful to hold the Syrians in subjection.

The tomb-inscription of an officer who accompanied the king seems to refer to this expedition. He speaks of crossing the Euphrates to spoil the land of Carchemish. He tells at another time of hunting wild elephants in the land of Niy. The largest beast of the herd turned and fought; "I cut off his hand (trunk) while he was alive." At Kadesh this champion had an encounter, on foot, with a mare which the crafty Syrian caused to run along the Egyptian line of battle in order to excite the stallions and so create disorder; he killed the beast and presented her tail as a trophy to the king.

The character of Thothmosis III bears comparison with that of the greatest conquerors. Of perfect temper, clear in judgment, lofty in design and sustained in execution, he was humane and considerate of the welfare of his subjects of either race. In seeking the glory of his house and of Egypt, he was wisely mindful of the interests of the conquered land.

Time was to show that he was mistaken in the policy of attempting to efface the sense of Syrian nationality, and to enforce an Egyptian quiet by means of garrisons. But at all events he was guided by a genuine civilising motive (sharpened by enlightened self-interest), and was in this respect perhaps the superior of the cruel Assyrian conquerors of a later time.

The value of Syria as a possession became more fully evident to the Egyptians as they reduced it more completely to subjection. Their painstaking and insatiable avarice extracted far more from the land than it ever had yielded to the careless and unindustrious natives. The commerce and the military and political control of



KARNAK.
Pylon of Thothmosis III.

Pylonali.

the province opened new careers, new avenues of activity for the Egyptian people. With comprehensive firmness, Thothmosis resolved to make Syria another Egypt; as far as Egyptian manners and institutions could be transplanted into a soil so widely different. But he found that permanent control of Syria could be retained only by governing through its native chiefs, and by respecting existing customs and laws. To assure himself of the fidelity of the native rulers in whom his authority was vested, he practised a policy which has been rediscovered by almost all conquerors who have governed a foreign people under like conditions. Having ascertained what rivalries or feuds existed between native chiefs, he supported the cause of those disputants whose gratitude seemed to promise most; and set his face against such pretenders especially as he judged too turbulent, too ambitious, or too capable. As occasions of strife were plentiful, there were few towns and few clans in which he was not able to place his nominee, who was attached by the strongest personal motives to the Egyptian supremacy.

In pursuance of the same general design, he caused hostages to be taken of the junior nobles, or chiefs' sons. These youths, the future rulers of Syria, were brought to Egypt and entertained as wards of the crown, doubtless with all the honour due to their rank. In contact with the noble youth of Egypt and under the monarch's eye, they received a thorough Egyptian education. On attaining manhood they returned to their native places strongly imbued with Egyptian ideas, conformed to the outward form of Egyptian manners, attached by friendship to the

Egyptian people, and convinced of the good faith, the wisdom and the power of the Egyptian government. When in the course of years this generation occupied the chief places in Syria, it must have formed a very important party favourable to the Egyptian supremacy.

In respect to the chief towns an additional safeguard was taken. Resident Egyptian officials were installed to advise and to observe the native ruler; he in some such cases was reduced to a nominal authority. The officials themselves were answerable to a general governor of high rank, a kind of viceroy, whose power in all provincial matters was practically despotic.

Moreover, as a solid basis to uphold the entire system, and as a ready means of crushing disturbances as they arose, permanent garrisons were placed at all important military points throughout Syria.

Thothmosis did not extend the boundary of his dominions beyond the Euphrates, where it already had been fixed by his grandfather; but his political influence was not confined by the river. In the affairs of all the Mesopotamian kingdoms he was consulted as arbiter, if not as master. He set up and anointed a new king, the begetter of a dynasty, on the throne of Nuchashia. His favour was courted by the Hittites, the Ugaritians, the Mitannians, the Assyrians and the Babylonians. All south-western Asia submitted to the practical control of the Pharaoh. A poetical composition, in which Ammon is represented blessing and uttering the praises of Thothmosis, contains these words: "I have given thee to smite those who are in the isles; those who are in the midst of the sea hear thy roarings; I have made them see thy majesty as

an avenger rising on the back of his slain victims." This early allusion to the dwellers in the isles of the sea probably means no more than that they were impressed by the victories of Thothmosis.

This was the age of Egypt's greatest prosperity; an age to which less happy generations long looked back with pride. The fame of Thothmosis (the Manachbia of the Asiatics) was wide and lasting. Long after the extinction of the eighteenth dynasty, to whose glory his career formed the climax, divine honours still were addressed to his shade. There can be no doubt that he was one of the very great men of antiquity, but of an antiquity so distant as to have escaped the view of ordinary history. His conquests, magnified by fable and confused with other legends, appear in Greek writers as the adventures of the far-travelled Sesostris.



THE GOD RESHEPH.

But the Egyptianising of Syria, as we presently shall see, was more seeming than real; and it was only one of the consequences of that intercourse which now became so intimate between the two countries. A process of the opposite kind, unforeseen and undesigned by the ruling power, was taking place at the same time. While Egypt was Egyptianising Syria, Syria was Semitising Egypt. But the primary steps in the latter process had been taken long before.

It has been remarked with what minute rancour the

Egyptians under Amosis had purged the land of the last traces of the outcast Hycsos. The transformation of Egypt from an Asiatic to an African, or rather to a native, regimen at that time impresses us as stupendous to the degree of improbability. Full consideration suggests that the victors unduly flattered themselves with the extent of their triumph. No matter what the Pharaohs might imagine in their pride, it was impossible to efface all the consequences of the shepherds' intrusion—to annul the waste and change of five (or two) centuries. Sundry indications, too, imply that the revolution was formal rather than fundamental. The Egypt of the eighteenth dynasty was radically different from the old empire which it professed to restore; the difference was real and substantial rather than apparent, and it was fully revealed only by the history and the general political drift of the eighteenth dynasty.

The truth seems to be that there was now a considerable Semitic element in the population of Egypt. Notwithstanding the force of racial enmity, it was impossible that the Hycsos and the Egyptians should have remained in contact so long without some mixture; alliances and associations must have taken place now and then where they met. A part at least of the mixed race which resulted from the contact doubtless attached itself to the Egyptian ancestry and remained behind after the expulsion of the Hycsos. And it has been suggested that pure Asiatics, who submitted to the Theban kings and accepted the Egyptian name, remained peaceably in possession of some parts of northern Egypt, in particular of the Delta, under the rule of Amosis and his successors.

From the period of the Hycsos, the Egyptian tongue was enriched with Semitic words. The type of features represented on the monuments are thenceforth of a sharper, more nervous type. These are tangible effects; but many of the indications of Semiticism are of an indefinable kind.

The thought and the art of Egypt in the new age appears to be warmed with an Asiatic glow. There was a relaxation of the severity and the restraint of the earlier Egyptian character; a more restless and adventurous spirit was now present. In monuments and works of art the new age is distinguished by its colossal productions; the piety and the good



THE GODESS ANATH.

taste which survived from the earlier empire were alloyed by an ambition to outdo and overshadow the wonders of former times. In politics a like spirit is manifested by the expansion which had for its effect the conquest of Syria and Nubia.

From the reign of Thothmosis III the change which had been wrought in the Egyptian character was rendered more salient by the renewed association of the two races. The conquest of Syria brought to Egypt a vast number of Syrians of all ranks: nobles, warriors, craftsmen and

slaves. Women especially were a prized and regular article of tribute. Many of these immigrants now settled in Egypt, to form a permanent part of the Egyptian population. In doing so they found a point of contact in that Semitic element of Egypt which remained from the former age.

The Syrian people, as we have noticed above, were far from barbarism; in some respects, indeed, they were the superiors of the race by which they were enslaved. More especially in decorative and manual arts they seem to have excelled the Egyptians; who themselves were not meanly endowed in these talents, and who thereby were the better able to appreciate the work of their subjects.

But art was only one side of the Syrian genius. In contrast to the useful uniformity of the Egyptian character, the people of Syria presented a luxurious development of personality; they were passionate, eloquent and spiritual. Misfortune had sharpened their intelligence and softened their manners. Their commerce had taught them something of the lore of many lands, together with the art of allaying racial suspicions and dislikes. Moreover, much weight must be given to the religious genius of this people, their capacity for contemplation, for philosophical refinements, and for wakeful ecstasies. It was impossible that many thousands of such persons could be introduced into the bosom of Egypt and incorporated with the Egyptian race, without strongly affecting it. What actually took place was almost a transformation; at the same time that Syria became completely subject to Egypt and seemed most thoroughly Egyptianised, Egypt became most thoroughly imbued with Syrian ideas.



Piromali.

KARNAK.
Middle Columns and Obelisk.

We must not forget to add that the spirit of Egyptian nationalism, that powerfully conservative and reactionary force which we already have seen at work, might indeed be dormant for a time, but certainly was not extinct. In due time this hostile power, irritated by the ascendancy of the foreign race and the popularity of novel ideas, was to produce a calamitous explosion.

CHAPTER VII

OZYMANDIAS

THE active and glorious reign of Thothmosis III ended in 1449 B.C. He was succeeded by his son AMENOPHIS II. The credit of the Egyptian government abroad depended so much on the personality of the sovereign that a change of reign was an inevitable occasion of rebellion on the part of the tributary states. Although Syria had been quiet for a number of years, the new monarch was not allowed to ascend the throne without being called to show what capacity he had to retain his father's conquests.

The trial was not a severe one. Again the valley of Jezreel, as it would seem, was the field of conflict; the rebels were engaged at Harosheth, on the lower course of the Kishon, and easily defeated. A second expedition passed through the length of Syria without meeting opposition, and visited the town of Niy, on the Euphrates, where the Pharaoh was worshipped by the inhabitants. It is just to add that some scholars find Niy in the valley of the Litany. But a group of rebels in the land of Tachisi (where formerly Thothmosis III had hunted elephants) was surprised and crushed. The war was thus ended. The king himself had struck down seven rebel chiefs with his mace; their bodies were hung by the feet over the prow of the

ship in which his majesty triumphally reascended the Nile. Six of them, as an offering to the sun-god, were transferred to the walls of Thebes. The seventh was sent to Nubia, and exposed on the wall of the city of Napata; an illustration at once of the extent of the Egyptian empire and of the disastrous consequence of rebellion.

No later disturbance is related under this reign; the superstitious temper of the Syrians seems to have despaired of trying a second time the validity of a succession which an initial success had established. In a later inscription the Pharaoh announces himself master of all those lands, including Naharina.

The research of foreign manners continued unabated. Among a number of divinities whom a monument represents Amenophis II as worshipping, occur the names of Ashtoreth and Chenticheti, the latter being presumably a divinity of Hittite extraction. Elsewhere he is found sacrificing to a Nubian god; whence we observe that external influences were by no means exclusively Syrian, but flowed from all sides. Egypt's imperial standing made the tolerance of foreign gods a political necessity, and made the new Egyptians familiar with rites and sacrifices which their fathers had detested.

After a reign of twenty-six years, Amenophis II was succeeded by his son THOTHMOSIS IV; who in the opening of his reign was in turn obliged to demonstrate his supremacy. The rising was suppressed without difficulty, although this king does not appear to have been of the stern stuff of his ancestors. In spite of the most uncompromising measures to preserve from generation to generation the purity of the sacred Pharaonic blood, we find symptoms of

degeneration and racial exhaustion. Thothmosis IV, one of six or eight sons, has left a monument in which he tells how, in his youth, he hunted the lions and the gazelles in the desert west of Memphis, the northern capital of Egypt. He rode in his chariot with two followers, and no man knew of them. There as he rested at midday in the shadow of the great pyramid, the antique spirit of Chafra, his remote and deified ancestor, appeared in a vision and hailed him the coming Pharaoh. From this narration it may be supposed that Thothmosis was not the expected heir to the throne, and reached it only by the death of his elder brethren. He himself reigned only ten years, and died a young man. A significant political motive may be attached to the vision. Following the admonition of his ancient predecessor, Thothmosis cleared the Sphinx of sand. Hitherto Lower Egypt, the seat of the pyramid-builders, had been neglected by the eighteenth dynasty. The development of the Asiatic conquests raised it to prominence, and forced the Pharaohs to recognise that they were more than Theban princes. In subsequent reigns Lower Egypt more and more asserted itself.

At this time the peaceful ties which bound Syria and Egypt were drawn more closely. The mutual commerce, the exchange of blood, ideas and manners which had subsisted without interruptions for two generations, developed their full effect. The national pride of the governing race was relaxed; their exclusiveness was found to admit of accommodations.

In the general character of this age, as far as we know it, we are irresistibly reminded of the Egypt of the closing chapters of Genesis. Now, if ever, was it possible for a

foreigner, one of the impure race of shepherds, to attain power and high station in the land of Ham. And we know that Syrians at this time actually held places in the court, and were scattered through all ranks of the people.

At the same time, while Syria was exhaustively exploited by an army of Egyptian officials, it was ruled by chieftains trained in the policy of Egypt, and disposed, at least outwardly, to uphold the Egyptian domination. Across Syria, frequent messages of trade and diplomacy were exchanged by Egypt and the independent nations of the Euphrates valley. These without an exception deferred to Egypt as to a power of a superior order. Indeed they manifested rivalry for her alliance and favour; in their solicitude to submit to the Pharaonic power there is a trace of ostentation. It seems probable that the stores of gold of which Egypt was mistress, and which now flowed in a steady current out of Africa to Asia, had an influence along with military renown in procuring for Egypt this recognition.

Meanwhile even the tremendous majesty of the royal house unbent. From the reign of Thothmosis IV marriages became possible between the royal house of Egypt and the royal houses of Asia. He set the example by taking to wife a daughter of Artatama, king of Mitannia, perhaps identical with the lately hostile Naharina; with which country Egypt now formed a close alliance.

Over the pleasing picture of international goodwill, outlined by these details, the slow advance of the Hittites from the highlands of Cilicia was already casting a sinister shadow.

In 1414 B.C. Thothmosis IV was succeeded by his son AMENOPHIS III, who may be considered the last great king

of the eighteenth dynasty; though his greatness is one of show rather than of execution. During his reign of thirty-six years the Egyptian empire reached its highest splendour, and before his death it had begun secretly to crumble. Till his closing years the relations of the ruling state and the subject nations were undisturbed; visibly, at least, all was stable and satisfactory. For the Syrians the bondage of Egypt doubtless was an easy burden; grievous as was the consciousness of servitude and pitiless as were the exactions of the tribute-gatherer, those evils were probably balanced by the advantages of a regular government, the suppression of local tyranny and brigandage.

It may be taken as a symptom of the thorough subjection of Syria, that the accession of Amenophis III was allowed to pass without a rising or a disturbance. Saving an excursion into Ethiopia, the reign of this king seems to have been a long peace; which peace wholly accorded with his personal character. If we may judge by his works, Amenophis III was a man of a luxurious, magnificent, ostentatious disposition; he took pleasure in vast engineering, building and artistic works; the famous Memnonian statues, 60 feet high, those seated giants which uttered musical emanations at sunrise, which Germanicus visited, as Tacitus relates, not long before his death, were the monuments of his colossal vanity.

Under this monarch the friendly relations which his predecessors had opened with Asia were maintained and increased.

He sent an embassy to Babylon, then ruled by Caraindash, a descendant of the barbarous Cassite invaders,

but now thoroughly imbued, after two centuries of possession, with the Babylonian spirit and culture.

He exchanged greetings and gifts with Assurnadinachi, king of Assyria; a rising power which now enjoyed complete freedom from the control of Babylon, and was destined to become a thorn in the side of Mitannia.

He corresponded with Tarchundarash, who seems to have been a Hittite sovereign, and who had the boldness to seek the hand of an Egyptian princess in marriage; but presumably without success.

With Nuchashia, a state more directly controlled by Egypt, and ruled, as we have said, by a nominee of the Pharaoh, there was regular and frequent intercourse.

By sea, traffic was carried on with Alashia, which can hardly fail to be Cyprus (although identified by some authorities as a part of Cilicia), an island already in those days noted for its wealth of copper.

The kingdom of Mitannia, which the Assyrians named Chanigalbat, was on the whole Egypt's most valued and most intimate ally. At this time it seems to have been an organised and powerful state. In possession of the fords and the fortresses of the Euphrates, and of the roads to Babylonia and Assyria, it was an object of alliance to Egypt as much from interest as from friendship or inclination. The kindness already testified in the marriage of a daughter of Artatama to Thothmosis IV was confirmed by the marriage of a daughter of Shutarna, the son and successor of Artatama, to Amenophis III.

But nothing gives us a more impressive idea of the commerce which existed between nations at this early time than the discovery, in the palace of the Atrides, in the

remote isles of Europe, and associated with pottery of the earliest Ægean civilisation, of enamelled tiles bearing the names of Amenophis III and of Teie, his great royal consort.

Such indications stamp the age as one of a premature and unstable civilisation; full of energy and vitality, but founded on a basis too narrow for continuance. It was to fall by the same scourge which has ruined many epochs of civilisation, the invasion of the civilised area by new uncultured races. The allied nations relapsed thence into their former isolation and ceased to learn from each other. The age of Amenophis III was therefore a false dawn, an unfulfilled promise, and when it had passed away it left little or no trace behind.

Of the domestic Egyptian history of this reign we know as little as of other reigns. The monuments tell us that the king, in his tenth year, married Teie, a great Egyptian princess of the royal blood, though not his sister; about the same time he accepted as a wife of lower rank Giluchipa, a daughter of the Mitannian king. For the details we possess of his foreign relationships we are indebted to the Tell el-Amarna letters, to be referred to in the following chapter. These tell us much of the state marriages which were then of common occurrence.

On both sides of the diplomatic relations, the acquisition of foreign wives was sought with curious persistency. But the Egyptian laws interposed an insuperable difficulty. It seems to have been a maxim of state policy that no woman of the royal house should on any account marry out of the kingdom. Since the succession to the throne was reckoned preferably through the female line, it was foreseen that a

foreign match, by raising up foreign heirs to the throne, would lead to grave complications. We have distinct evidence of few breaches of this law, or precaution, even when foreign influences were most powerful in Egypt (the marriage of Solomon, 1 Kings iii. 1, may be otherwise explained); but there are several instances of foreign rulers who sought Egyptian brides with great earnestness, unintimidated by the prohibition. The Pharaoh, on the other hand, neither expected nor found any such churlish regulation on the part of his correspondents.

Besides Teie and Giluchipa, he received into his seraglio a daughter or granddaughter of Caraindash, the Babylonian king. The match was concluded only after repeated solicitations by the august lover. This kind of diplomatic courtship seems to have been customary; the suitor was not daunted by a fifth or a sixth refusal, whether these were prescribed by the etiquette of courts, or by feelings of natural affection. It was not without misgivings, indeed, that the anxious father resigned his child to a distant and haughty bridegroom. Eastern beauty was a fading flower; the conditions of the marriage contract in a foreign land, the status of women in general, might not be perfectly understood or ascertainable; from the sharing to the tending of a kingly couch, as we are informed by the *Iliad* (i. 31), was a common and quick transition. In illustration of this point there exists a curious letter of Amenophis III to Cadashman-bel, a successor of Caraindash. Apparently the letter never was sent, since we find it among the letters received by the Egyptian court, and there does not seem to have been a practice of keeping copies of letters. The unconvincing tone of the Egyptian monarch's assurances

inclines us to hope that he found other more satisfying evidence to send the Babylonian king. The letter answers a complaint of Cadashman-bel, that his messengers had not been shown his sister when they visited Egypt; obviously he suspected her degradation or disgrace, and he made his fears ground for declining the petition of the royal voluptuary for another princess. Amenophis' lame excuse is that the messengers were incapable of recognising the Babylonian wife. That the letter which was actually sent was accepted as satisfactory by the Babylonian king seems to be proved by a reply, in which the latter intimates his intention of sending the princess who had been demanded.

The submissive demeanour of Cadashman-bel towards Egypt is rather difficult to explain, except by the supposition that Babylonia was then in a reduced condition. This king sought an Egyptian wife of his haughty correspondent; the prohibition above alluded to having been intimated to him, he cheerfully expresses his willingness to accept any fair Egyptian dame, whatever her lineage, and he adds with much simplicity: "Who shall say she is not a king's daughter?" It is evident that the prestige of an Egyptian alliance made it an object of very high ambition. A more sordid motive is also visible: Egypt was rich in gold, obtained from Nubia and from Sinai, and the avarice of the Asiatic monarchs was sharply stimulated thereby; their servility is at least partly explained by their anxiety to attract a share of the metal. It was transmitted to them under the pompous name of a gift; in return they sent slaves, women, the diverse products of their soil or industry; but the real character of the exchange was perfectly under-

stood, and when values seemed unequal the royal traffickers did not fail to expostulate.

In the thirty-first years of his reign, the stealthy flight of years admonished Amenophis III that he was mortal, though a god; and he provided for the future by assuming his son on the throne as joint king. The practice was common in Egypt, whether with a view to invest the kingly office with a species of immortality, or merely as a safeguard against unfilial ambition. Profound peace then reigned throughout the great Egyptian empire; yet it is possible that the elderly king saw that grave troubles were ripening for the future. AMENOPHIS IV was aged twelve when he was associated on the throne, and it might be hoped that early familiarity with the cares of sovereignty would fit him to reign alone when the time came.

A crisis was indeed at hand. Nearly a century had passed since the conquest of Syria by Thothmosis III, and time had made the yoke familiar and supportable; many of the petty kings were interested by the strongest personal considerations in upholding a power which had placed them in their seats and alone could keep them there. Moreover, the advantages of unrestricted commerce with Egypt were fully esteemed. But the fickleness and the fiery spirit of the Syrian people rendered their attachment uncertain. A thin veil of respect for the supreme authority scarcely disguised their turbulent passions and daring ambitions. It is probable that unrest, petty wars and bloody vendettas prevailed in Syria even when Egyptian control was firmest. For the last years of Amenophis III there is reason to think that the ruling power culpably allowed such disorders, and even complacently viewed the mutual strife of Syrian

factions; at all events it was strangely remiss in preserving peace. The officials seem to have thought their duty amply discharged while the yearly tribute—no matter how collected—reached a prescribed amount.

In that early age of the world there does not seem to have existed even a theory of ethics for the government of a conquered country. The Egyptians were by nature an organising and thrifty race; there was no cruelty in their disposition; but their standpoint toward Syria was that of owners bent on extracting large and speedy profits. Even so the promotion of order and contentment was to their interest; this consideration undoubtedly was appreciated, and by the stronger Pharaohs it had been observed. But the problem of ruling so rebellious a country as Syria could have been no easy one, and we have ground to think that the military might of Egypt under Amenophis III had shrunk considerably. A degeneration in the system of control ensued, and the officials (as we shall see in the sequel by some concrete examples) were obliged to tolerate or connive at proceedings of the most flagrant disloyalty.

The policy of negligence, if policy it can be called, was as imprudent as it was weak. The astute Syrians keenly scented hesitation or other signs of decay in their rulers. They were not wholly indifferent to the dignity of freedom and national existence; on a proper occasion they were perhaps capable of patching their fends. Above all, these calculators were sensitive of any change in the balance of power, and it was impossible that their fidelity to Egypt would survive the appearance of a stronger claimant to their homage. As evidence of the reality of this danger, it afterwards appeared that a Syrian embassy went secretly

to Babylon in the reign of Curigalzu (the grandson of Cadashman-bel) and offered him the reversion of their allegiance on the condition of his helping them against Egypt. That monarch declined to reassert the ancient dominion of Babylon over the west; but other less scrupulous or more powerful actors were at hand. In the condition of unstable equilibrium in which matters then stood, the deceitful quiet waited but a suitable occasion to be transformed into a general tumult. The power which was to effect this revolution had made its entry in Syria and already was in undisguised activity.

That power was the celebrated Hittite nation. The fatherland of the Hittites was in eastern Asia Minor, and probably corresponded to the later kingdoms of Cappadocia and Cilicia. The moment of their first irruptions into Syria is unknown. The fertile plains which spread southward of Taurus must ever have attracted the dwellers on those bleak heights. In the lust of expansion they were ready to descend the Euphrates or to ascend the Orontes. We may believe that the warlike renown of Egypt had long held them back; but it is uncertain how many colonies of Hittite origin subsisted in Syria under the Egyptian dominion—colonies of little importance singly, but likely to become centres of defection in the event of a general Hittite advance. The kingdom of Mitannia, which occupied the wide region between the Orontes and the Tigris, was closely allied in race to the Hittites; it may be regarded as simply an earlier wave of population from the same mother-land.

In the last years of Amenophis III a body of Hittites crossed Mount Taurus and invaded Mitannia. Dushratta, the son of Shutarna and grandson of Artatama, was now

king ; he armed his people and repelled the strangers. In a letter announcing the occurrence to his ally he says that Teshub his god had given him the enemy into his hand. As substantial tokens of the victory he sent with the letter a chariot, two horses, a boy, a girl and sundry ornaments of gold ; this present being a share of the booty won from the marauders.

The check only deferred the coming of the Hittites, which at a future time was to be irresistible and over-



HITTITE CHARIOTS.

whelming. For the present it perhaps precipitated their outflow toward Syria.

One of the last important acts of the elderly Pharaoh was to fetch from Mitannia the princess Taduchipa, a daughter of Dushratta. Whether the bride was destined for himself or his son is not quite clear ; the evidence rather favours the former alternative, in which case the bridegroom was not long to enjoy the comfort of his latest adventure. He fell sick ; the tidings inspired his Mitannian correspondent to give a last and signal instance of devotion. In the international commerce which so long had prevailed, the Egyptian king had heard much of the wonder-working

Istar, the lady of Nina or Nineveh, the Venus of the eastern world; he besought his father-in-law to mediate for him with this curative divinity. Dushratta exceeded the request, for he sent the golden statue, the palpable embodiment of the goddess, to Thebes, that Amenophis might directly worship it and live. It was not the first time that Istar had made the journey. In a letter accompanying the loan the king says: "Istar of Nina, the lady of all lands, has declared: To Egypt, which I love, will I go, and will direct my way."

The words: lady of all lands, and: Egypt, which I love, are noteworthy. An amiable confusion of religious systems reigned, or rather an inclination to combine or to assimilate the worship of diverse peoples. In an earlier letter Dushratta says: "May Teshub and Ammon uphold our friendship for ever." Teshub did not exclude Ammon nor Ammon Teshub; Istar exacted veneration by the Nile as by the Tigris. The principle of this commingling of religions consisted in the covenant between the nations, to which the gods of each nation were cited as witnesses; or it might be better to say that the gods were taken for the primary parties to the covenant.

Antiquity yields few examples of the voluntary and friendly transference of a divinity from one dominion to another. In war, indeed, the capture of a god was esteemed a trophy of great consequence, and it was not unusual to honour an enemy's god in order to alienate or divide his favour. The present case is one of a different order.

Either the succour came too late, or report had exaggerated the efficacy of the goddess. Amenophis III died in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, in the year 1378 B.C., and Amenophis IV reigned in his stead.

CHAPTER VIII

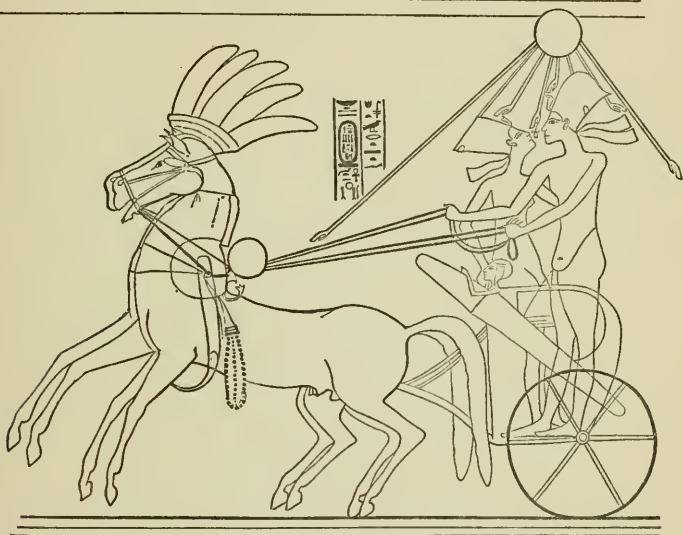
THE HERETIC KING

No sooner was Napchuria (as the Syrians corruptly pronounced the throne name of the new Pharaoh) left alone on the throne of Egypt than the political firmament darkened. The change of reign was a signal for the explosion of a storm which long had been gathering. Risings and seditions had vexed the opening days of former reigns, and had been calmed by a single expedition displaying the continued might and promptitude of the ruling power. The present crisis was made up of the same elements as those, but it was attended by more ominous circumstances; the resistance on the one hand was graver, and the recovering power on the other was diminished.

We have already remarked in what way Syria was likely to take advantage of Hittite encouragement to cast off the Egyptian rule. It is open to doubt if the power of Egypt could have effectually weathered that storm even if piloted by the utmost skill and unity of purpose. But the warlike faculty of the Egyptians, reduced as it probably was since the age of Thothmosis III, was now almost nullified by a great schism in religion and in politics. With the accession of the new king a domestic revolution, which indeed long had been working underground, was

openly proclaimed : at the head of the movement appeared the new king himself ; its effects were to rend the kingdom in twain and to neutralise the efficacy of the government.

The design to which Amenophis IV devoted himself, and in accomplishing which he staked the whole credit of his



AMENOPHIS IV AND HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER.

sacred line, was a renovation of the religious system of Egypt ; a tremendous experiment, from which a more prudent or a less exalted mind might well have recoiled. In the realising of a fixed idea the young king was fearless and inflexible, but it might be said that his firmness rested on a blindness to the catastrophe toward which he was rushing. In what degree he was merely an instrument in the hands of his advisers is open to question. At the age

of eighteen it can hardly be supposed that his vast project was wholly personal.

The character of Napchuria is difficult to fathom. We may take it that absolute power and the pretension of divinity, together with a consciousness of meagre talents, rendered the hearts of kings more inscrutable than those of common men; thence the regal vice of dissimulation. Of this singular personage, concerning whom so little is known, it would be unjust to judge conclusively; but the contrast of his actions, as illustrated by his fortune, and those of his ancestors is sufficiently striking. The earlier kings of the eighteenth dynasty had been capable rulers, active generals and imposing monarchs; singleness of purpose, firmness, serenity were the base of their character; their pursuits had been kingly and suitable to the national spirit: such an estimate seems to be fairly warranted by a general view of their history. Except strength of will, Amenophis IV appears deficient in these qualities; while he possessed others peculiar to himself, among which we may rank a certain philosophical or spiritual intensity, a kind of mysticism, perhaps. His mind was complex as theirs was plain and of normal texture. Disdaining their ambitions, he gave himself to the high speculations of religion and abstract contemplation, with effects ruinous to the nation and to his family.

In justice it should be said that some features of the case tend to modify this view of Napchuria's proceedings. That the new religion had a political as well as a speculative scope seems to be amply proved by the furious resistance which it evoked. Now, we have observed that the new Egyptian empire which succeeded to the domination of the

Hycsos had been in some sort a creation of the priesthood of Ammon of Thebes. The kings of the eighteenth dynasty were the pupils of this body, which thenceforward exercised great authority. Thebes became the new capital of the Pharaonic empire; Ammon climbed to the summit of the national pantheon, his ministers arrogated an intolerable dignity. But we shall find it evident that in practical effect this priesthood was the chief sufferer by the coming reformation; while the same body was a determined agent in organising hostility against the novel doctrine. The inference seems just that a deliberate object of the king's was to deliver the nation and the throne from an influence grown oppressive.



AMENOPHIS IV (AND HIS WIFE) WORSHIPPING THE SOLAR DISK (AFTER ERMAN-LEPSIUS).

Formally the new religion consisted in the reception of Aten, the solar disk, as the god of the royal house. It is very difficult for us to picture even faintly what this implied. First of all it meant the exclusion of Ammon as the source of the kingly genealogy. For without doubt the kings of the eighteenth dynasty believed themselves descended by natural generation from the god. Napchuria's contempt for the ancestral faith gives us a glimpse of the wave of

enlightenment, or of emancipation, which was passing over Egypt.

A thousand years after these events, the superstition survived; Alexander the Great adroitly converted it to his advantage, and gave himself as a legitimate sovereign to Egypt by a fiction which has seemed ridiculous only to those to whom it was not addressed.

Whence came that wave of premature enlightenment? One hardly can fail to associate it with the widespread intercourse between nations which now subsisted. We have noticed the co-operation of Ammon and Teshub; the appearance of Istar by the Nile. The god Aten is perhaps identical with the Syrian Adonis. Though from very early ages obscurely known among the subsidiary gods of Egypt, of foreign derivation, Aten seems to have owed his new elevation to the Asiatic influences which prevailed in Egypt in the reigns of the third and the fourth Amenophis.

We know too little of the new religion to form a judgment of its ethical or philosophical teaching. From its very newness it seems to have been distinguished by the absence of all mythology, by the simplicity of its ritual, by the fervour with which the worshipper sought direct communion with his deity. That the worship of Aten was an exclusive and jealous monotheism is far from certain; but the spiritual energy which was imported into it had something of the character which we attribute to monotheism.

Very remarkable, from a poetical and even from a scientific point of view, are the thoughts expressed in a hymn to Aten, which has been found inscribed in the grave of a believer. There Aten is plainly the visible sun, in

strong contrast to older conceptions, in which the original solar character of gods was obscured by symbolical and traditional excrescences.

“Thy beams encompass all lands which thou hast made, thou settest their bounds, thou bindest them with thy love.” The revolutionary liberality of such sentiments takes the sharpest relief from the narrowness of much later ages. Precise observation of nature and tender insight are equally visible in the reverence accorded to the sun as the source and upholder of all life; whereof examples are cited from the whole field of nature. “Thou art afar, but thy beams are upon the land.” These beams are represented in sculpture as concrete objects with symbolised powers of life and strength; in the secret part of the doctrine they doubtless had an important rôle. Probably a system of astronomy or of divination was an essential article of the doctrine: “No man knoweth thee save only thy son Nefercheperura, to whom thou hast revealed the doctrine of thy ways.” The new affiliation of the royal house seems to be asserted definitely where the king is called: “thy son who came forth from thy substance.” A singular vestige of ancient superstition, adapted to new conceptions, appears in the mention of the heavenly Nile. The old Egyptians knew the heavenly Nile (the Milky Way?) without assigning it a function beyond Egypt. But since Egypt had become an empire it was proper that her new religion should take account of the dependencies; the heavenly Nile became the Nile of the subject peoples: “Thou puttest a Nile in heaven to rain on them; . . . the heavenly Nile is for the strange people; . . . the earthly Nile is for Egypt.”

The new religion, with its secret lore, spread like a

leaven through the superior classes of society. In the foregoing reign it had made much headway, and probably was countenanced by the king. His consort, the high-born Teie, seems to have been a convert; as also was her daughter-in-law Nefertiti. But the elder monarch, from prudence, had refrained from giving it official sanction; well pleased perhaps to see the majesty of Ammon diminished, but willing to defer the actual conflict. His successor had no such hesitation.

The offence of the worship of Aten lay less in its philosophical novelties than in the practical consequences which flowed from them. In Egypt, the land of temples, a new deity could be worthily entertained only by a gorgeous and costly establishment. But Thebes was the holy city of Ammon; there, even while no rivalry was declared between the two religions, Aten could enter only as an honoured guest. For a new divinity it was essential that a new area, hitherto unappropriated, should be consecrated. Here the political significance of the reformation comes into view.

Thebes was naturally the capital of Upper Egypt; it had been the seat of the princes who reigned concurrently with and in submission to the shepherd kings. In a united Egypt it continued to be the capital, though situated in a remote place; with her great Asiatic interests, which had increased gradually, Egypt more and more found the inconvenience of having the seat of government so far from the centre. The force of this consideration becomes clear when we take into account the slowness of ancient travelling, and recall the immense number of despatches, usually on highly important matters, which reached the royal house. There

was reason in the demand that Egypt should have a new capital; with the support of practical men the Semitising party in the state found itself in force to deal a crushing blow at the nationalistic or reactionary party, if we thus may term the supporters of Ammon. The decision was taken. Forthwith the project was put in execution with despotic and unflinching will.

A silent and solitary place half-way between Upper and Lower Egypt, a sun-baked level backed by hills, was chosen as the site of the new city. Thither the architects and builders of the court proceeded. With the resources of a tyranny still unquestioned at their disposal, they caused streets, halls, palaces, forums to arise; a great metropolis which should eclipse the splendour of Thebes. The palace, consisting of many buildings, occupied a space of eighteen acres. The temple of Aten stood within an enclosure nearly half a mile long; the main building had an area of an acre and a half.

These spacious proportions, to take no account of the artistic perfection of the works, afford us a distinct idea of the superiority of Egypt in material things over unhappy Syria, of which some contemporary habitations have been described above.

To the new city, which received the name of Chutaten (the sun on the horizon), the court transferred its abode; the courtiers, the greater and smaller officers of state, the whole machinery of government accompanied the court. Thebes was unpeopled.

Amenophis renounced his former name, compounded with the name of Ammon, and assumed a new name Chuenaten (the solar splendour) compounded with the

name of the new divinity, in token of his readoption. Chutaten was peopled with believers; familiarity with the doctrine, we can believe, became a ready passport to favour and power. Around him the despot saw none but congenial faces, and might flatter himself that the revolution had been happily accomplished.

But meanwhile the hostility of the priestly party, as yet unvoiced, and the sullen fanaticism of the people, which gathered wrath as the thundercloud gathers fire, were dangers to be reckoned with. Startled by the suddenness of the stroke, and hesitating between fidelity to the god and duty to the king, the priesthood for a season remained undecided, and regarded the progress of the new religion with ominous calm.

Even before the reactionary forces had taken consistency or direction, their effects must have been found in a secret sapping of the national health. The regular functions of government would be discharged without vigour; neglect would breed abuse and inextricable confusion; and naturally foreign affairs would be the first to suffer.

It was during these internal troubles that a movement for independence, or rather for the restoration of ancient lawlessness, began in Syria. Its progress is illustrated by the famous Tell el-Amarna letters, which have been found in the ruins of Chuenaten's capital. To anticipate the course of this history, it may be said that Chutaten was deserted soon after the death of its founder. The place was desecrated, accursed, and became a haunt of wild beasts and evil spirits. In the course of centuries the noble city was wholly forgotten, and only mounds of earth showed where it once had stood. These have been opened

in the present age, to afford the modern world a singularly vivid glimpse of events which had absolutely faded from the view of history. The most important discovery has been a collection of baked clay tablets; the usual medium of writing in Babylonia and in Assyria, but hitherto strange to the explorers of Egypt. They evidently belong to the state archives of Egypt, and consist of communications to the Egyptian monarch by numerous Asiatic correspondents. The letters, of which there are some hundreds, are related as to place, time and matter; they repeatedly name certain persons and refer to the same incidents; thus it has been possible to arrange them in a series in chronological order, or with an approach thereto. Although doubts must remain as to the sense of particular passages in the letters, some indeed of the utmost importance, and although there are disconcerting gaps in the series, they nevertheless have been found to embody an intelligible account of Syrian affairs during much of the reign of Chuenaten.

In their bearing on historical study, the facts revealed by the Amarna letters have been quite revolutionary. Most noteworthy is their evidence of the diffusion of the manners and the culture of Babylon throughout southwestern Asia; this is amply attested by the use of the Babylonian language and the arrow-headed writing, and by allusions to Babylonian gods. In the wide region then in communication with Egypt, a region of many races and tongues, the Babylonian was the customary language of international correspondence. It was familiarly known by the Syrian chiefs and the Egyptian officials, and it was used by the kings of Mitannia, of Alashia, of Nuchashia; when the correspondent himself was not qualified, he

retained the service of an educated scribe. Even when the sender and the receiver spoke another language in common, as in the case of letters exchanged by Syrians, the cultured idiom was preferred.

All this goes to prove the former supremacy of Babylon over the region now tributary to Egypt, and the continued supremacy of the Babylonian form of civilisation. We may nevertheless be chary of unduly magnifying the latter item. The laws of Hammurabi, now many centuries old, and still for many centuries to be venerated in the East, were laws for an industrial people dwelling in cities; but for a land such as Syria, with its patriarchal usages and its clans, with the sovereign right of war freely exercised by families and factions, they were unsuited; and we may conclude that they were unknown or at all events forgotten. Doubtless the ancient culture, which in Babylonia itself seems to have suffered eclipse since the rise of the Cassite dynasty, had still more considerably faded in the outer regions. Two centuries had now passed since the expulsion of the shepherds from Egypt and the substitution of Egyptian for Babylonian control over Syria; one century since the more thorough conquest by Thothmosis III. Although it appears from the evidence at hand that Syria during this period had borrowed little from the highly advanced and ornate civilisation of her new masters; although, on the contrary, we find that Egypt was greatly infected by Asiatic manners; yet it would be hazardous to form a too flattering picture of the state of civilisation in Syria. It may be allowed that with a knowledge of the Babylonian tongue and writing there probably went familiarity with the literature of that

language, with the religion of Babylon and its mysteries of science and astrology. The correspondents of Napchuria were, moreover, men of polish and policy; their letters, couched in formal and ceremonious terms, evince a bland politeness which recalls the stately language of biblical princes and Homeric kings. But over and over again we discover that the writers combined much ferocity with their accomplishments, and we get the suspicion that their suavity was but a thin coating over a solid foundation of barbarism. Perhaps it is best to regard the Babylonian culture as the remains of a former civilisation fast degenerating from the effects of misrule.

CHAPTER IX

NAPCHURIA'S FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE

IN reviewing the communications of Amenophis III with Dushratta and Cadashman-bel, we already have broken on the Amarna series. Those earlier letters had indeed gone to Thebes ; but when the court was transferred to Chutaten they were thought of sufficient importance to be carried thither with other documents of state. Thus have they become included in the find at Tell el-Amarna. In the new reign the correspondence was continued. Cadashman-bel, however, seems to have died before Nimmuria ; he was succeeded by Burnaburiash I, then by Curigalzu, lastly by Burnaburiash II, the contemporary of Amenophis IV.

Napchuria early gave his correspondents to know that a change had supervened in the foreign policy of Egypt. He inherited little of the old king's taste for ostentation and extravagance. It is perhaps the case that the slow decay of Egypt, which had been in operation during part of the last reign, now showed itself in a shrinking of the sources of gold ; for the same causes which produced weakness and disorder in Syria must have produced weakness and disorder in Nubia and elsewhere. Perhaps, too, the prodigality of Nimmuria had crippled the national finances, and the advisers of his successor felt emboldened

to counsel a rigorous reform. Thus the unaccommodating and repellent attitude of the young king to his correspondents is best explained. The result of the change of policy was to render the commerce of Egypt no longer attractive to the Euphratean rulers. The exchange of messages and commodities, which now had subsisted so long, was subsiding through listlessness and indifference on both sides, when it was interrupted by the troubles in Syria.

Some of the transactions of Napchuria seem to show discernment and decision. He foresaw the coming of Assyria as a power, and recognised its king as an independent ruler. A single letter from Assuruballit, who now reigned, recalls that his grandfather Assurnadinachi had received twenty talents of gold from Egypt; fortified by which precedent the writer sent a present of chariots and horses with the demand for a like return. The purpose of the gold was to adorn a new palace. In acknowledging the arrival of messengers from Egypt, he gives the alarming news that they had been hunted by the Suti, or northern Bedouin, while crossing the Syrian desert, and had been delayed by taking a circuitous road to escape these enemies. The same danger awaited them on their return homeward. It appeared that the nomads had a particular feud against the Egyptians, since Assuruballit desires the speedy dismissal of his own messengers from Egypt, and has no apprehensions for their safety.

The admission to trade, the sending and the receiving of messages, was a formal recognition of sovereignty. As such the embassy to Assyria gave offence to Burnaburiash, the new king of Babylon, who asserted but could not maintain superiority over Assyria. The kings of south

western Asia were literally merchant princes. The profits of traffic were the main object of their policy, and doubtless supplied a large part of their revenue. There seems little doubt that the right of trading with foreign lands was reserved as a royal monopoly.

From Burnaburiash there are several letters. This monarch, the proudest and most considerable of Egypt's allies, was not above suing for presents of gold, which he required to embellish a temple. "Write me what you want from my land, it shall be brought you; and what I want from your land I will write you, let it be brought me." And more than once he recites the friendly relations which their fathers had maintained. Early, however, notes of discord are sounded. Napchuria sent him as a present two minas of gold, a beggarly dole. "Why did you send me only two minas? The work of the temple is now great, and vigorously have I undertaken it. Send me therefore much gold." The embassy sent by Egypt to Assyria more grievously displeased him, and he now disclosed the story, somewhat delayed, of the Canaanite messengers who had come to Babylon in the days of Curigalzu to propose an alliance against Egypt. "Seek not alliance with me," the old monarch had said; "if you cherish enmity against my brother and ally the king of Egypt, beware lest I come and plunder your land." The moral was obvious.

By another embassy he received twenty minas of gold; the same when put in the furnace did not amount to five minas, being thus of excessively bad quality. Such startling assertions were perhaps too familiar in business to carry conviction. The letter containing this complaint

has some plain remarks concerning the avarice or poverty of which Napchuria was now giving evidence. "Your messengers have come three times, but you have sent no beautiful present, and I too no beautiful present have sent you. If nothing is refused me, I will refuse you nothing." In the close of the same letter we find that Napchuria's daughter, then a child, was betrothed to the son of Burnaburiash. The great object of Euphratean ambition then had been gained; facilitated perhaps by the abolition of the myth of Ammon.

Another letter appears to concern the transport of a Babylonian bride to Egypt. The messengers of Egypt proposed to bring her with five chariots,—an indignity which stung the Babylonian king. "The neighbouring kings will say: What, is a daughter of the great king to be carried over with five chariots? When my father sent my sister to your father, he escorted her with three thousand men."

Burnaburiash fell ill, and during his sickness no message of sympathy came from Napchuria; on account of which neglect "I was full of wrath against my brother," he writes. When, finally, an Egyptian messenger arrived and explained the immense length of the road, Burnaburiash refused to believe his assertion. An Assyrian messenger was called in to give his testimony, and succeeded in convincing the incredulous monarch, whose geographical ideas were doubtless those of his age.

He censures, moreover, Napchuria's lack of business habits; the last gold was of bad quality, "because my brother did not look to it himself, but an officer of my brother's sealed and sent it. Let not my brother leave it to an officer, but with his own eyes let him see it." He

evidently suspected that the Egyptian king was being robbed by underlings.

The same letter contains an intimation of the coming storm. "With regard to Salmu, my messenger, his caravan has been twice plundered; first by Biriamaza, then by Pamachu. Since they have plundered him in your land, which is a land of vassalage, let therefore my brother adjust this strife. Let Salmu also come before my brother, that they may refund his ransom and make good his loss."

Such a claim was calculated to awaken Napchuria to a sense of his duty in Syria. That the Babylonian king could himself count on a certain influence with the rebel chiefs is shown by a safe-conduct addressed to them, with which one of his messengers was furnished:

"To the kings of Canaan, vassals of my brother the king. Verily Akia my messenger to the king of Egypt my brother, to condole with him, I have sent. Let no one detain him. In safety to Egypt bring him, and as far as the city of Zuchli (Zalu) in Egypt bring him in haste. And let no violence be done him." The sorrowful occasion of this embassy is not specified.

A later message from Burnaburiash, picturing the Syrian troubles at a more advanced stage, will be noticed below.

To Dushratta the Mitannian king, the old Pharaoh had shown a lavish bounty; it seems probable that Dushratta studied and flattered his weaknesses. When Napchuria succeeded to the throne, this diplomatist found such blandishments unmarketable. Not long before his death, Nimmuria had promised to send his correspondent certain molten images of gold. The present had not been sent

when he died ; and the penurious Napchuria caused wooden images to be sent as a substitute. The intense chagrin experienced by Dushratta when this offering reached him embittered the subsequent relations of the two kings. The images are a tedious refrain in his letters.

“The gold for the images my messengers in Egypt have seen with their own eyes. Your father also had the images cast in the presence of my messengers. And he showed them much other gold, without measure, which he was to send me, and spoke to my messengers, saying : Behold the images, and behold much gold and implements without number which I am about to send to my brother ; and look upon it with your own eyes. And my messengers saw it with their own eyes. And now, my brother, you have not sent those images which your father designed to send, but you have sent some that were made of wood !”

Again he writes to Teie the great dowager, recalling his intimacy with Nimmuria, and soliciting her influence with Napchuria ; and out comes the story of the images : “Napchuria your son has made them of wood, notwithstanding that in Egypt gold is as dust. If Napchuria your son intends to increase his friendship with me tenfold more than his father, how can he now not give me what his father promised ?”

This monomania is the recurring note of a long but greatly mutilated letter to the king, in which Dushratta recounts the past relations of Mitannia with Egypt ; what difficulties both Thothmosis IV and Nimmuria had to overcome to win a Mitannian wife ; his own exceeding friendship with Nimmuria, to which he calls Teie to

witness; his ambition to make the same with Napchuria tenfold closer; his urgent need of gold; his mourning for the late Pharaoh, and his consolation: "When Napchuria the noble son of Nimmuria by Teie his noble wife entered on his reign, I said: Nimmuria is not dead if Napchuria reigns in his stead. He will not change from its place one word from what it was before." And then the regrettable incident of the images is again introduced.

In another letter this writer refers to "Taduchipa your wife." Either that princess really had been married to Napchuria, not to his father; or otherwise the young prince, like many Oriental rulers, had entered into possession of the harem with other regal properties when he ascended the throne.

There is a series of letters from the king of Alashia, or Cyprus. This ruler, who refrains from mentioning his proper name in any of his communications—perhaps from the fear of therewith delivering himself to occult influences—sent to Egypt copper and desired silver in return. One of his letters tells that Cyprus was swept by the pest: "Since in my land the hand of my lord Nergal has killed all the people of my land, there is no production of copper." Having heard of the curative effects of Egyptian magic, he asks that one of the "eagle conjurers" shall be sent him. In fact, the renown of Egypt as a land of pharmacy and witchcraft seems to have been spread through the isles of the sea, as we learn from Homer.

In another letter this king answers a grave accusation which had been made against certain of his subjects. Egyptian vessels had been assailed by the pirates of the

Lycian coast, and it was said that natives of Alashia were in combination with the robbers. The king repels the charge ; “you do not know the people of my land,” he says, to suppose them capable of such misdeeds. On the contrary, the Lycians yearly plunder the city of Sichru in Alashia. Still, if the alleged offences can be proved, he is ready to punish the guilty.

It was natural that the king of Alashia should preserve a good understanding with his mighty neighbour the Hittite, who subtended his coast on two sides. He finds it needful to reassure the Egyptian court on this head, jealousy having been excited by reports of his dealings with the king of Chatti (the Babylonian form of Heth) and the king of Sanchar : “Whatever presents they send me, the same I will return you twofold.”

Among these documents of state there occurs a curious missive with the superscription : “To the minister of Egypt, my brother ; the minister of Alashia, your brother.” The official, nameless as his master, ventured a little cargo on his own account, using his master’s ships and credit ; and invited a return of confidence from his supposed equal at the court of Pharaoh. The letter betrays lively apprehensions lest the consignment should miscarry and the sailors be detained : “These men are servants of my lord the king ; let not your customs-officer come near them ; and you, my brother, send them quickly back.”

The long detention of messengers in Egypt is an ever-recurring subject of complaint by the correspondents. One explanation is that the messengers were men of standing, who were kept as hostages ; a remarkable parallel instance is that of Joseph’s brethren (Gen. xlii.) ; and indeed the

points of agreement between the Egypt of the story of Joseph and the Egypt of the Amarna letters are many and striking. Hardly less probable is the explanation that the disorders and the actual poverty of Egypt made it difficult to collect with despatch the returns demanded by the crowned traders, whose servants were kept dangling in Egypt to the detriment of business. To obtain a speedy return, some of the letter-writers use quite ingenious pretexts: "Send my messengers quickly and safely," says the king of Alashia, "in order that I may hear of your good health." Yet it appears that even with Alashia, a comparatively short journey, the usual extent of business was one shipment on each side yearly.

The superscriptions of these letters are highly formal, and vary according to the relative rank of the parties; the same correspondent very seldom varies his expressions. Thus the Babylonian king usually writes: "To Napchuria my brother, Burnaburiash, king of Carduniash, your brother. It is well with me; with you, your house, your wives, your sons, your land, your chief men, your horses, your chariots, may it be well." Ramman-nirari, the vassal-king of Nuchashia, thus begins: "To the sun, the king, my lord, king of Egypt. Ramman-nirari your servant. At my lord's feet I fall." The Syrian princes use still more abject terms: "To the king, the sun, my lord, Abdashera your servant, the dust of your feet. At the feet of my lord the king seven times and seven times I fall." The following is not an unusual flight: "To my lord, the king, the sun in the heavens, my god, my sun, Shubandi your servant, the dust of your feet, the servant of your horse. At the feet of my lord the king, the sun in the heavens, seven and

seven times I prostrate myself upon my breast and back." It is probable that the excessive adulation of these terms had a precise value; the fourteen prostrations doubtless represent those which actually would be required in the Pharaoh's presence.

CHAPTER X

NAMIAWAZA

WHILE the correspondence with foreign kings betokens a state of general peace and friendly relations, a very different picture is presented by the letters of the dependent chiefs of Syria. There from first to last all is tumult, and we see the incompetence of the Egyptian government lead to a complete revolt of the greater part of Syria against the Egyptian authority. In the background the hand of the Hittite king appears from time to time, controlling the seemingly aimless movements of the rebels, and occasionally appropriating their gains.

Possibly at this time all Northern Syria as far as the river Eleutherus was under the dominion of the Hittites. It is doubtful how many isolated clans or communities of the same race were settled in Middle Syria under Egyptian rule. Probably many; the names of some of the chiefs who first meet us are not Semitic—as Biridashia, Namia-waza, Itacama; and although we possess no guidance to their etymology, it is natural to suppose these men immigrants from the north, and therefore probably members of that branch of humanity to which the people of Mitannia and the Hittites belonged. Such settlements existed as far south as the later Judea. Their inhabitants

seem to have associated in freedom with the Semitic nations without exciting alarm or enmity. Perhaps we should regard them as trading stations conceded or sold by the former occupants in the expectation of benefits likely to accrue from the presence of caravans.

It is certain that the Egyptian conquerors of Syria, aiming at quick returns, had concerned themselves mainly with the fruitful plains and the trading towns. The mountain tribes, a poorer and hardier people, were at once harder to subdue and of less account as vassals than the people of the plain. They least felt the burden of the Egyptian overlordship, they tolerated it least, and in times of depression they were the first to be abandoned to their own resources. For that neglect the Egyptian power was to suffer a suitable punishment. It was by intriguing with the mountain tribes that the Hittites sought to undermine the existing order of things, and to prepare the way of their own advance.

As a consequence of these machinations, Syria was divided into two parties; those who favoured the Egyptian rule, and those who sought a change. The inhabitants of towns, the cultivators, especially the people of the coast, were ranged under the former category; to them the Egyptian government had given protection against brigandage, and access to Egyptian markets. On the contrary, the mountaineers felt oppressed by a power which had interfered with their rights of robbery and private war. As usually happens, a dubious class oscillated between the two opinions.

In Syria it never was difficult for a mischief-maker to find in public disturbances a proper pretext for interven-

tion. In the uneasy state of public feeling, the death of Amenophis III was the signal for a general commotion, which the Hittites did not fail to turn to advantage. A favourable opportunity was afforded by the aggressive proceedings of three chiefs of the pro-Egyptian party, who found the moment inviting to promote their fortunes under the pretence of upholding Egyptian interests.

Ildaia of Chazi, Biridashia of Choshaba, and Namiawaza of Cumidi were three neighbouring chiefs in the lower valley of the Litany. The last, in virtue of an earlier conquest of which we have no particular account, laid claim to the possession of Kadesh, a sacred city in the long valley between Lebanon and Antilibanus (though perhaps neither Kadesh on the Orontes nor the biblical Kadesh in Naphtali, with either of which it has been identified). The city was actually in the possession of Itacama, an active agent of the Hittite king.

In the days of Itacama's father, as we learn from a letter of Itacama, Namiawaza had invaded Kadesh and usurped his heritage. That earlier affair was the original spring of the trouble. Both Itacama and Namiawaza, we have remarked, appear to be of Hittite extraction.

Counting on Egyptian support in the assertion of his right, Namiawaza persuaded his two neighbours to join him in a warlike expedition to Kadesh. The three chiefs, with their followers, proceeded thither, ascending the valley of the Litany. Promptly divining the motive of this demonstration, Itacama besought help of the Hittites, whose forces must have been near. It was willingly accorded; Itacama was prepared for his assailants, and when they appeared inflicted on them a severe defeat.

Letters in almost identical terms were sent by the three chiefs to Egypt in intimation of their mishap. "Behold, we were encamped against the cities in the land of Amki for my lord the king, when Itacama the prince of Kadesh marched upon us at the head of soldiers of Chatti." Apparently they regarded themselves as holding an informal commission to make war on the king's enemies; the only conditions were that they should be able to clear themselves of suspicion, and that their undertakings should be successful.

The alliance of the three chiefs was broken up by their defeat; each for himself sought elsewhere to repair his losses. Biridashia of Choshaba forsook his allegiance to Egypt and embraced the cause he had combated. Strong in his new faith, he returned southward and attacked Inuama, an inland town eastward of Tyre. His late ally Namiawaza came in pursuit and relieved the town. Then Biridashia went on an expedition through Galilee into eastern Syria beyond Jordan, and there prevailed on a number of chiefs to join him. The princes of Ashtoreth, Bosra and Chalunni, towns of Bashan, took up arms. "Come on," said the banded chiefs, "we will kill Namiawaza."

Confronted by this formidable rising, the latter fell back on Damascus, where he found himself surrounded by unfriendly or dubious clans. In vain he proclaimed: "A servant of the king of Egypt am I"; the declaration fell on deaf ears. The dangers of this asylum obliged him to return to western Syria, where he fortified his own city Cumidi, an important station in the lower valley of the Litany, commanding the highway from Berytus to Damascus.

Meanwhile Biridashia worked his way northward through Damascus, and joined himself to Azira the Amorite prince, of whom we shall hear more in the sequel.

Namiawaza seems to have been firmly attached to the Egyptian interest, and he had the countenance of the resident Egyptian rabisu or deputy, who could shrewdly estimate the value of native professions. Indeed, in this region he stands forth as the only active supporter of the Egyptian government. Yet we must notice that the chiefs whom he had fought, or whom he was ready to fight, had by no means renounced the title of Egyptian vassals. With servile duplicity they professed their integrity and good intentions, and in their letters to the Egyptian court they represented the situation in a different light. Thus Itacama wrote a narrative of Namiawaza's misdeeds, since that earlier usurpation of Kadesh in the days of his father; and asserts that Namiawaza had now delivered the cities in the land of Kadesh and in the plain of Damascus to the Chabiri. He offers his services to eject Namiawaza and the Chabiri from these positions.

Another letter of doubtful authorship bewails the havoc wrought by the Chabiri, and names a number of cities in Lebanon which they had plundered and set on fire; after each damning fact occurs the refrain; "yet the Chabiri have betaken themselves to Amanappa," the Egyptian general-in-chief or rab-sabi, with whom they still contrived to make their peace.

The Chabiri! This name arrests our attention, since those who bear it have been identified with the Hebrews by many scholars. The expression is, in fact, equivalent to Hebrews, as we might expect the latter to appear in



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cuneiform signs; it also may be interpreted as a general descriptive designation, with the sense of confederates or allies. In the references to the Chabiri we find little to recall the biblical account of the settlements of the Hebrews in Canaan; yet that little is interesting and stimulates conjecture. What we may take as fairly substantiated by the evidence at hand is this: the Chabiri were a nomad race who hovered on the eastern borders of Middle and Southern Syria; they took service as warriors in the pay of the Syrian princes, without regard to their political views, merely promising themselves the spoils of Syrian towns as a reward; sometimes they made incursions solely on their own account, with the same view; they did not reckon themselves subjects of Egypt, but were essentially a free people; as a growing menace to the peace of Syria, they excited grave fears in many minds; there are some indications that they occasionally played a deeper game, intrigued with a political object in sight, and attempted to obtain permanent possession of land.

A letter of Namiawaza to the Pharaoh runs: "Verily I and my soldiers and my chariots, together with my brethren and my Chabiri and my Suti, are at the disposal of the Egyptian troops wherever my lord the king commands." These mercenaries served impartially for and against the Egyptian interest. The association of the Suti with the Chabiri is noteworthy. The former also were a nomad people, similar in many ways to the Chabiri; already we have seen them, far in the north, hunting with particular rancour the Egyptian embassy to Assyria.

The opinion of a modern school of historians here requires notice: that the Suti now in question were the

advance-guard of the Aramean race, a third great outpouring of Semitic nations from the Arabian home, as the Chabiri were the rearguard of the second (called the Canaanite) race, of which mention has already been made. Supported as it is by the profound learning of its authors, the theory actually rests on slender evidence. The traditions of Israel, it may be remarked, testified to an early association with Aram in the legend of Jacob's servitude to Laban (Lebanon?) and the covenant-pillar erected at their mutual boundary.

While Namiawaza held Cumidi, Itacama formed an alliance with his recent enemy Biridashia, and with Arzawia of Ruchizi (a Galilean town, perhaps the site of the later Tiberias). The three chiefs opened a general conquest of eastern Galilee. Arzawia occupied Shaddu and garrisoned it with Chabiri, and in concert with Biridashia went forth to devastate the land of Abitu, the region eastward of the upper Jordan as far as Damascus.

Galilee was now in an uproar, the Egyptian supremacy was neglected, brigandage reappeared. Valued as a populous and fertile region, that country was of special importance as the route of overland traffic from Egypt to Damascus, to Northern Syria, to Mitannia, to Assyria, to Babylonia. Unrest here immediately cut off communication between Asia and Africa, and this was what happened. Caravans were robbed; travellers were maltreated, detained, turned back; the international exchange of compliments was suspended.

The Phœnician towns, as we already have said, were of all Syria the most firmly attached to the Egyptian interest. Their accessibility made it easier, their wealth made it more desirable for Egypt to retain a firm hold on them. Their

interests and concerns, which alienated them from the inland people, disposed them to favour a foreign ruler. Yet they were not so detached from the land as to view its revolution with unconcern; and in times such as now had arisen, the landward tribes had influence over them sufficient to counterbalance the fear or the favour of Egypt.

Surata, the king or chief of Acco, early favoured the rebels, but without abating his professions of faithful service to Egypt. This town was one of the most important of southern Phœnicia. Its situation, near the seaward entrance to the plain of Jezreel, rendered its relations with the interior somewhat intimate. The chief possessed dependencies in eastern Syria, where his son Shutatna exercised the duty of governor, but sometimes threw aside the responsibility of his office to join in a foray and rob a caravan.

As long as effrontery served, this pair acted double parts. Their letters to Egypt explain away the grossest treason. When Biridashia, pursued by Namiawaza, had approached Acco, the resident Egyptian officer had commanded Surata to support the latter. But Surata argues that this was impossible; moreover, the importance of Acco as a seaport made it unwise to take a side in the inland strife. In fact, Surata took a very pronounced side, but it was the popular side.

The last extant letter of Burnaburiash, king of Babylon, draws attention to the doings of Shutatna. That prince, together with Sumaddu, son of Balaam, king of Shimron (on the Waters of Merom, in northern Galilee), attacked a caravan from Babylonia to Egypt which had been delayed at Hannathon (also in northern Galilee). The messengers they slew, their money and property they confiscated; the

two chiefs each retained a Babylonian as a slave, one of these having had his feet cut off. "Canaan is your land," writes Burnaburiash to Napchuria, "I have suffered violence in your land; subdue them, restore the money they have stolen; and the people who killed my servants, kill them and avenge their blood."

The Egyptian government was utterly inadequate to sustain such responsibilities as this.

CHAPTER XI

RIBADDI OF GEBAL

THE contest in Galilee was a war of kites and crows, a war of petty and sordid motives. Otherwise was the drama enacted on the larger theatre of Middle Syria. There we see the minor actors drawn into the sphere of a ruling spirit and inspired to play consistent parts; and we catch glimpses of an ample design worked out with courage and persistence.

The Amorites, as we have already seen, were the chief nation inhabiting Lebanon and Antilibanus. Their monarch was the astute Abdashera; he paid barely a nominal allegiance to the Egyptian overlord; and the extent of territory and the number of tribes subject to his sway inspired him in the decay of Egyptian power with the loftiest ambition. This able chief fortified himself on the one side by a friendly understanding with the Hittite power, and on the other side by entertaining large companies of the Suti and the Chabiri in his pay.

When Napchuria came to the throne, Abdashera was already advanced in years, and his talents were perhaps fitter for the council than for the field; but he had a number of sons well qualified to work out his designs. Of these Azira stands forth conspicuously, the soul of action,

a man of great energy and resource. At an earlier time this son of Abdashera had visited Egypt, and for a time was detained there as a hostage. There exists a letter, of which the writer's name is lost, praying for his dismissal:

"To you I look, for you give me life and you give me death. Let my lord hear the words of his servant. Azira is there; do not detain him. Send him quickly, that we may defend the land of my lord the king," etc.

This was written in Nimmuria's reign, and the request was not withheld, since we find Azira already active in Lebanon in the last years of the same monarch. A letter from Akizzi, the chief of Catna, in the plain of Damascus, regretfully recalls a time when the Egyptian authority was respected in Syria: "If the troops and chariots of my lord came, food, drink, cattle, sheep, honey and oil were brought for the king's troops and chariots"; and complains of the treasonable doings of Azira, who had kidnapped citizens of Catna and held them to ransom; Akizzi requests money of Egypt to redeem them.

This writer speaks of the king of the Hittites, who had robbed him of a statue of the god Shemesh—perhaps that Aten or Adonis whose worship was about to create a revolution in Egypt; but in another letter he repels a charge of having unduly favoured the Hittite king. "If I receive a letter from the king of Chatti," he says, "I will send it to Egypt to my lord the king."

With the accession of Napchuria, Azira began a series of regular campaigns. This is specifically proved by a letter of Ribaddi, who wrote some years later as follows: "Although your father (Nimmuria) did not march forth nor visit the land of his vassals, yet was he indeed gods and sun and

Baalat to Gebal. But when you ascended the throne of your father's house, Abdashera's sons took the king's land for themselves."

Aided by masses of the mercenary Chabiri and Suti, the Amorites operated in a wide circle which embraced the whole Phœnician coast and the plain eastward of Damascus. Their subdivision in bands, their quick movements, the ingenuity of their commander give the illusion of their being everywhere at once. While the hostile policy of these proceedings was plain to the most undiscerning, both Abdashera and Azira to the last wrote reassuring letters to Egypt, and found plausible excuses for their treason.

"Verily, I am the king's servant, and a dog of his house," writes Abdashera; "and the whole land of Amurri I guard for my lord the king."

And again: "Let my lord the king know that my enemies are strong against me; and may it seem good to my lord the king to send some powerful man that he may protect me."

And the old schemer sought further to captivate the young monarch by a present of Syrian maidens.

Azira's letters are in a similar tone. He, moreover, had usefully employed his sojourn in Egypt to make friends in high places; particularly of Dudu and Haia, men apparently of Syrian origin but holding offices of state and possessing great authority in Syrian affairs. Dudu he addresses lovingly as father: "for in that place you are truly my father," he says. Again: "The land of Amurri is your land, my house is your house; whatsoever you desire of me, write and I will give it you." Again: "Behold, you sit in the presence of my lord the king, therefore allow not slanders

to be made against me." And again: "From the words of Dudu my father I will not depart for ever; and if the king loves me not, but hates me, what shall I say then?"

Indeed the credit of the most highly placed protectors must have been strained to screen the daring rebel, whose acts and professions were so utterly unrelated. Better instructed by his enemies, the Egyptian court issued a warning note to Azira, which must have occasioned him grave reflections if ever it reached him. The letter analyses his record with restraint and majestic courtesy, but fairly convicts him of treachery. We learn that a prince, whose name is lost, had been ejected from his city by the anti-Egyptian party. The exile took refuge in Sidon; but Azira, under the pretext of reconciling the parties, had fetched him thence and delivered him to his enemies, by whom he was promptly slain. "As if you did not know the hatred of the people!" is the Pharaoh's comment.

Moreover, it was reported that Azira had made a covenant with Itacama of Kadesh, mutually to deliver food and drink; "and it is true," the letter asserts; "why do you do so? why do you make peace with a prince who is at war with another? whatever be your conduct between them, you are not on the side of the king your lord."

"If you submit to your lord the king," the letter proceeds, "what is there the king cannot do for you? But if you for any reason continue to do unfriendly acts, you shall die, you and all your family. Therefore render submission and you shall live."

Lastly, as a practical test of Azira's sincerity, he is invited to take captive and transmit to Egypt certain offenders, whose names are given, and with whom it is

probable that he was but too intimate; "Let none of them escape; let chains of bronze be put on their feet"; moreover, if he himself cannot come to Egypt, let him send his son as a hostage.

To these complaints and requests, which so plainly betray the weakness of the Egyptian government, it need not be supposed that Azira failed to imagine evasive replies.

His reasons, indeed, for declining to surrender himself to Egypt appear in one of his letters: the Hittite king was spreading disaffection in the north, had undermined the loyalty of Dushratta, threatened to occupy Tunip; Azira's presence was indispensable to counteract these movements.

Had his intentions been upright, the reasons given were sound; the picture of the Hittite advance was not overdrawn. Their occupation of Nuchashia is confirmed by the letter of Ramman-nirari, the prince of that state, whose ancestor had been raised to the throne by the mighty Manachbia. The desertion of Dushratta is confirmed by other witnesses. Already masters of Northern Syria, the Hittites daily extended their influence southward. The pressure imparted by their advance was the hidden power which impelled the machinery of rebellion. Invited to choose between two masters, the Syrian chiefs were obliged by their weakness to act as they did: to dissemble and waver; to uphold at once a secret intelligence with the rising and an outward attachment to the sinking power; and, finally, to declare unequivocally for the master who showed himself the stronger.

To these progressive lapsings the Egyptian government's attitude continued to be weak and unworthy. The domestic

disturbances now in progress in Egypt forbade the reinforcing of the small garrisons in Syria. The Egyptian occupation was reduced to a skeleton army; perhaps only the fiscal officials remained at full strength. The deputies, unsupported by force, took the sorry course of condoning treason, of winking at offences, of playing off one rebel against another. For the present at least, and until a turn of affairs allowed them to exact a stern vengeance, they complacently viewed the rebellion as a succession of tribal quarrels in which they were not called to meddle. Since both parties still professed fealty to Egypt, the officials agreed to take them at their own valuation.

Had there appeared a resolute ruler, armed with the actually available resources of Egypt, it seemed possible that the crisis was not beyond remedy. In Ribaddi, prince of Gebal in northern Phœnicia, the Amorite chiefs were conscious of an enemy whose tireless ingenuity divined and thwarted their most masterly combinations. This ruler's perpetual appeals for military support were uniformly disregarded by the Egyptian court, and he was reduced to such expedients as occurred to an inventive mind in desperate circumstances. Yet without assistance he was able to hold the Amorites in check for years. Ribaddi was really devoted to the Egyptian cause, with which the prosperity of Gebal was entwined. On his sincerity no shadow rests. He is possibly the only man of the time (Namiawaza may be another) who did not hasten to make his peace with the coming power. It would appear that Ribaddi's political views were sharpened by a bitter personal enmity to Abdashera and his house. That family he seldom names without some word of acrid

spite. The old chief he constantly qualifies by the epithet of dog. It is rather curious that Abdashera took the same title to himself in token of humility and fidelity. Perhaps the term was an allusion to the clan or family of the chief. Long afterwards the clan of Caleb, or the dog, was known in the south of Palestine; who knows what relation it may have borne to the Amorites? We know that Hebron, the patrimony of the Calebites, was a town of late foundation; it is not named in the Amarna letters; the Bible has a reminiscence of its building (Num. xiii. 22), and variously associates it with the Hittites (Gen. xxiii.), the Amorites (Josh. x. 5) and the Canaanites (Judg. i. 10). But it must be admitted that the Bible generally uses these names very loosely.

The inland campaigns of Azira, necessary to establish his footing, are not clearly illustrated by the letters; presumably because the inland people very readily came over to his party. The city of Niy (in the valley of the Litany?) is described by Akizzi as faithful to Egypt; early, however, it fell to Azira. Tunip (perhaps in the same region) made a longer resistance. There is a remarkable letter from the people of this town (a sort of round-robin) in which the evil deeds of the Amorite are plainly set forth:

"In former times who could have spoiled Tunip and not be spoiled by Manachbia? For the gods of Egypt dwell in Tunip; let my lord inquire of his old men if it is not so. But now we belong no more to our lord the king of Egypt. If the king's soldiers and chariots come not speedily, Azira will make us like the city of Niy. And if we must mourn, the king of Egypt also must mourn for the deeds of Azira; for his hand he will turn against our

lord. And when Azira shall enter Simyra, then will he do his pleasure on us in the land of our lord the king; and because of these things our lord will have to mourn. And now Tunip your city weeps and her tears are running, and there is no help for us," etc.

In the end Azira occupied Tunip; the step, as he demonstrated, was a necessary one in the Egyptian interest, to checkmate the king of Chatti. "For if Tunip falls," he writes to Haia (meaning thereby, falls into the hands of the Hittite), "then the way to Martu (Syria) from the place where he now abides lies open."

After all the inland towns and tribes had made their peace with the Amorite leader, the Phœnician seaports remained dutiful to Egypt. But Azira could not afford to overlook the importance of these havens; although their commercial advantages might not excite the envy of the mountaineers, it was enough that they offered convenient landing-places for Egyptian troops into Syria. The political views of the rebel chief expanded with his successes, and he took the necessary measures to gain control of the coast towns. Hordes of the Amorites and the Chabiri were poured into the Phœnician plain, and the attack was made on many points at once. Where force was inexpedient or insufficient, attempts were made on the loyalty of the city-kings; in few cases did they withstand the ordeal.

The island-city of Arvad, the most northerly of the Phœnician states, early joined the rebels and lent them powerful assistance. This city lay beyond the mouth of the Eleutherus, and at that time probably was under the power of the Hittite king.

Sidon weakly resisted and yielded early. Its ruler

Zimrida, as we learn from the letters of his enemy Abimelech the king of Tyre, had a secret understanding with Azira. Zimrida's own letters, it is true, give another impression. Answering an Egyptian communication touching his fidelity, he writes: "When I heard the message of my lord the king my heart rejoiced, I lifted up my head, my eyes shone." But he adds: "Let the king know that my enemies are mighty; all the places which the king gave into my hands have fallen into the hands of the Chabiri."

In another letter Zimrida undertakes to supply the Egyptian court with intelligence of the doings of the Amorites. How he performed the commission is illustrated by a passage in one of Abimelech's letters: "Zimrida the Sidonian sends daily messages to the rebel Azira concerning all the matters which he hears from Egypt."

As for Acco, we already know enough of its chief to surmise what part he played in this crisis.

Tyre, Berytus, Gebal and Simyra remained true to the Egyptian cause and long defied the enemy. The last appears to have been a place of secondary importance, and probably was a dependency of Gebal. From the letters of Ribaddi we hear much of its siege. An Egyptian garrison, which had been stationed in Simyra, retired as the Amorites approached. The citizens, left to their fate, were prepared to hold out for their own account; thus in a manner justifying the cynical prudence of the garrison. They were stimulated by the presence of Ribaddi, who came from Gebal to encourage and direct them.

Simyra offered a stern resistance. To cause a diversion, Azira transferred the siege to Arca, an inland town dependent on Gebal. Ribaddi followed with a detachment of his

forces, but came too late; Arca had been taken and was occupied by the Chabiri. Ribaddi fell back on Simyra without giving the enemy any further advantage.

While the sea was open, the Canaanite seaports could despise a blockade by land. The enterprising Azira early discovered this; with amazing versatility he proceeded to organise a navy. The Amorites, as a mountain race, could accomplish such a design only by indirect means. Ship-masters of Sidon, of Berytus, of Simyra itself were suborned. These auxiliaries captured at sea some ships by which Ribaddi was bringing warriors to the relief of Simyra. Thus was laid the foundation of an Amorite marine. The prizes were remanned by their captors, who thereafter sailed forth to capture more; probably the island-city of Arvad served as a base for these operations. The appearance of the Amorites as a sea-power gave the strife a new complexion, and hastened the fall of the besieged places.

The alarm of Gebal in danger recalled Ribaddi from Simyra. His departure was a sensible misfortune to the pro-Egyptian party in the latter town. With the tireless activity of the assailants and the lapsing fidelity of the citizens, its fall could not be long delayed. That important turning-point in the war happened in the fifth year from Napchuria's accession. By this time the actual siege probably had lasted a year or two, the whole population had been either slain or dispersed, and the town was so dismantled that it could not be occupied; these details afford us a vivid idea of the atrocious character of ancient war.

By a strange humour Azira still affected fidelity to the Egyptian interest; and it is somewhat remarkable that the government, although perfectly aware of his aims, continued

to accept his protestations with a certain deference. The destruction of Simyra was a positively hostile act which could not be winked at; but the court merely required the rebel, as a specimen of his sincerity, to rebuild the town. This, however, by no means accorded with his views, nor did the multitude of his occupations allow time for such a peaceful task; and he repeatedly deferred the request: "The kings of Nuchashia are my enemies, and they take away my cities by order of Chatib, therefore have I not yet rebuilt it; but now will I build it in haste." Simyra languished for years, while the siege of Gebal was protracted.

Tyre made a vigorous defence. Abimelech, the king or chief of this famous city, was strongly attached to the Egyptian cause. He acknowledged that he owed his elevation to the Egyptian court, which had made him *rabisu* (a title elsewhere given to the Egyptian deputies) of Tyre; doubtless he reckoned that his downfall would be the first object of a victorious anti-Egyptian party. Moreover, Abimelech, to judge by the language of his letters, was a proselyte of the Aten illumination; his exordiums in this sense are highly poetical, as the following:

"My lord is the sun which daily rises over the earth according to the ordinance of the sun-god his gracious father; he who gives life by his loving word; he who gives sleep to all lands at his going down; he who thunders in the heaven like Addu, and the whole earth trembles at his voice."

In short, the relations of Abimelech to Egypt were intimate and high. He had a troublesome neighbour in Zimrida the king of Sidon, who, as we have seen, early transferred his allegiance, and was hopeful that his example

should be contagious. In concert with Azira, the Sidonian occupied Usu, a town in the vicinity of Tyre from which the Egyptian soldiers had withdrawn; this remained a standing menace to Tyre, although Zimrida's act seems to have been partly ratified by the government, since we find Abimelech, instead of expelling the invader, addressing several letters to Egypt, desiring to be reinstated in possession of Usu.

Zimrida took a still more effective step in corrupting the prince of Hazor in northern Galilee—the biblical Hazor, residence of Jabin, the as yet unborn oppressor of Israel. With the contemporary prince, Zimrida wasted the country around Tyre, so that the Tyrians were reduced to straits, and in want of wood and water.

The pressure applied to Abimelech from without was intensified by the attitude of his people, who in growing numbers favoured rebellion against Egypt. His fidelity was not weakened by the appearance of ships of Arvad off the coast, and by the march of Amorites in the direction of Tyre. Meanwhile he sent many appeals to the Egyptian power for troops to defend his city.

The upshot is related in a letter of Ribaddi's:

“Behold, Tyre has rebelled. Let the king ask his vassal, my brother Jamelech, if my words are greater than their offence. Verily they have slain their commander (chazanashunu) and also my sister and her sons; for I had sent my sister's children to Tyre as to a place of safety.”

It would appear, in other words, that Abimelech was slain by the anti-Egyptian party in Tyre. The word rendered “their commander” is the same as chazanu, the usual term for a native prince; thus Zimrida is called

chazanu Sidona, prince of Sidon. Moreover, it is unlikely that Ribaddi could mistake the name of an important neighbour like the ruler of Tyre. Jamelech probably was Abimelech's successor, and Ribaddi more than hints at his complicity with the mutineers. The similarity of names arises from the title of the god of Tyre, Melech (Molech, Melcarth, Melicertes), to whose service many children were dedicated and named.

The credit of Tyre as a pro-Egyptian stronghold had been so highly rated, that Ribaddi, distrusting the stability of Gebal, had transferred certain wards of his own family to the care of Abimelech. These were slain; Ribaddi also says that he had deposited his property in Tyre. It is clear that the defection of this great city (*mahazu rabitu*, as Abimelech calls it) was unexpected; nor can we doubt that it was an accession of vast importance to the Amorite insurgents.

Berytus and Gebal remained. The resistance offered by Berytus to the rebels is not so copiously illustrated by letters as that offered by Gebal. The name of Ammunira the chief of Berytus is possibly Egyptian. If the chief was actually of the ruling race, he appears to be the only example of such a case. There are indications that he had the intimate confidence of the court; on the other hand, Ribaddi did not abstain from blackening his reputation with his masters.

The circumstance that over seventy letters of Ribaddi of Gebal are preserved, has given the defence of the latter place an undue importance. Still, the restless and fearless character of this prince must have made him a central figure in the war. His correspondence has occasional

strokes of self-revelation, and the picture which we are allowed to trace of the man is well worthy of attention.

Ribaddi was a hereditary prince: he speaks of his father, and contrasts the liberal policy of the Egyptian government of those days with the miserly system now ruling. Already, at the date we have reached, Ribaddi was advanced in years, or worn out by fatigue. Here are some personal remarks explaining why he cannot come to Egypt:

“Old age and disease are heavy upon me. Let my lord the king know also that the gods of Gebal are angry with me and sore displeased; for I have sinned against the gods, and therefore I do not come before my lord the king.”

The letters abound in denunciations of open enemies and treacherous friends. One forms the impression that his complaints were not groundless; the times supplied him with grievances. His hatred of the Amorite princes is expressed without restraint in every letter. The waverings and the backslidings of dubious vassals are exposed; the falsity of favourites, the weakness or the complicity of officials are unveiled. On the other hand, Ribaddi is not without a good word for a chosen few—Namiawaza, for example. Again, his devotion to Egypt was not solely policy.

This impetuous old man made numerous enemies. One of the names he frequently cites is Japa-addi, with whom he had a litigation, and whom he accuses of favouring Azira. The town of which Japa-addi was the chief is unnamed. “Had I made a covenant with Abdashera, as Japa-addi and Zimrida have done, I should now have peace,” he

writes. Again he says: "I am at strife with Japa-addi and Chatib; let the king send one to judge between us." He accuses Japa-addi of having hindered the voyage of Amanappa to Alashia. He instituted a legal process against Japa-addi before Amanappa and before Janchamu for the recovery of possessions said to have been plundered. Lastly, he complains: "What have I done to Japa-addi, that he inflicts injury after injury upon me?"

Unhappily for Ribaddi, his tactless outspokenness inspired mistrust and dislike in the quarter where he most required confidence—the ranks of high Egyptian officialdom. There the great head of administration, next in power to the Pharaoh himself, was Janchamu, a man of Semitic name and doubtless of Syrian origin. This ruler had his seat in Jarimuta, a corn-producing region which had to be passed by travellers from Syria to Egypt. Jarimuta has been sought by recent scholars in the eastern Delta; and some writers have ventured to identify Janchamu as the original of the patriarch Joseph. The resemblance of the position of Janchamu to that assigned to Joseph in Egypt is sufficiently striking. A Syrian himself, this great man doubtless had favourites among the Syrian princes, and at times allowed himself to be swayed by these prepossessions. Ribaddi bluntly hints at such cases, and thereby wins the steady hostility of the overseer, who could do so much to defeat his designs.

"Tell Janchamu," he writes the king, "that Rabaddi is indeed your servant, and that whatsoever Janchamu does against Ribaddi he does against you."

By Ribaddi's account, Janchamu was a severe taskmaster. As master of the Pharaoh's corn-land he had the

duty of sending provisions to the besieged places; this he is accused of neglecting or betraying: "Let my lord the king send grain in ships," says Ribaddi in a partly illegible tablet; "and behold, if Janchamu says that grain should not be delivered to Ribaddi. . . ." In the same letter occurs a statement which is several times repeated, and which strongly calls our attention to a tragic side of antique life: "Our sons and daughters and the timber of our houses are no more; all having gone to Jarimuta for our sustenance"; and he implies that Janchamu had misappropriated the money obtained by this unhappy means.

Perhaps as an offset to Janchamu's enmity, Ribaddi paid court to Amanappa, the *rab sabi* or commander of the Egyptian forces in Syria. This officer, as the chief of a skeleton army, was as often in Egypt as in Syria; Ribaddi, in writing the court, refers to him as a witness of his troubles and his faithfulness: "Verily Amanappa is with you; ask of him, he knows these things, and has seen my distresses." Again, after Amanappa had revisited and quitted Syria, he writes: "Behold Amanappa is there; ask of him if I did not convoy him to Alashia on his return homeward"; when Japa-addi had sought to hinder that visit.

It is certain that Amanappa was far from reciprocating such good offices. Ribaddi more than once upbraids him with having given delusive promises of help. A signal instance occurred when Ribaddi discovered that divisions existed between Azira and his confederates. The Amorite leader had sent to the people of Ummia, a town of Lebanon, saying: "Slay your chief, do as we do, and you will have rest." The fickle populace had literally followed this advice, and they "became like the Chabiri." But the chiefs who

had united with Azira saw in the act an impious democracy; each one said: "So they will do to us also." With statesmanlike penetration Ribaddi saw the opportunity and wrote thus to Amanappa: "Verily they now are not friendly with Abdashera, they now are independent, and daily expect the coming of Egyptian troops, 'in order,' as they say, 'that we may fall on Azira.'" Whether from incapability, or lack of troops, or through favour to Azira, or in the design of preserving an equality of parties in Syria, the golden chance was lost for ever.

But perhaps the most striking example of what Ribaddi endured from his masters is contained in a letter addressed to him by Amanappa, a letter which possibly was never sent, but which not less certainly indicates the genuine mind of the writer:

"To Ribaddi my son; the rab sabi your father. I pray the gods for your health and for the good of your house. You have written me: 'Before the people of Simyra could escape to Gebal, there was a plague in Simyra, a plague among the people and also among the sheep.' WHAT SORT OF A PLAGUE AMONG THE SHEEP? If you fail to deliver the sheep which I require, the king's tribute, I fear the king's property shall be lost when he requires it. If the king requires sheep, the sheep are the king's," etc.

The gruffness of this message, so foreign to the usual mildness of Egyptian intercourse, is in marked contrast with the style of letters issued in the Pharaoh's name. But even there the invincible perseverance of Ribaddi seems to have raised resentment. Although we have only one side of the correspondence, we can gather that the court had plainly signified its weariness; and Ribaddi's

renewed protestations are almost farcical in their gravity : “ If I send bad tidings to my lord, then one says : ‘ Why do you send bad tidings ? ’ But had my words been regarded, Azira would have been taken,” etc. In place of the armed succour or the provisions which he so persistently begged, the court beguiled Ribaddi with irrelevant advice ; some of its recommendations revealed a cynical indifference which provoked his anger. “ When my lord the king writes : ‘ Defend yourself,’ ” he complains, “ how shall I defend myself ? ” and again : “ If the king does not protect his servant, who will protect me ? ” On that injudicious utterance of the court he frequently harps. A worse instance of the government’s incapacity appears in the following quotation :

“ My lord has written : ‘ From Zalucchi and Ugarit you must bring it (grain)’ ; but I cannot send my ships there (the places seem to have been inland and remote). For Azira has made war on me, and all the princes favour him. According to their pleasure their ships sail and bring what they need. Why does the king give provisions to the princes my equals, but to me he gives nothing ? ”

In affected despair Ribaddi several times offers to retire from his post. To Amanappa he writes : “ If I have done evil to you I will retire, and your man shall drive the Chabiri out of Simyra and shall occupy the city.” Again he writes the king : “ If the king hates his city I will abandon it ; and if he only desires to remove me, then send a man to take my place.”

It would appear that the court calculated on Ribaddi’s immovable attachment ; and with justice. His relations toward Abdashera and his sons were probably a sufficient

reason. He writes: "Behold, Gebal is unlike other cities; from of old Gebal has been the faithful city of my lord the king." Elsewhere he says: "Formerly the kings of Mitannia (Naharina? see p. 87, etc.) were at war with your fathers but from the beginning I have not departed from my allegiance.—Verily I am a faithful servant; the king has no servant more faithful than I." Perhaps the wealth of Gebal and the wealth of Ribaddi were weighty motives, for he says in another place: "Let not my lord the king neglect his city, for it contains very much gold and silver In its temples there is much wealth if they capture it"; and as we have seen, Ribaddi had deposited some of his possessions in Tyre as a place of safety.

The capture of Simyra allowed the rebels to direct their full force against Gebal. It might be thought that Azira's singular pretence of respecting the authority of Egypt was not merely a show, since the besiegers refrained from assaulting Berytus while it was held by an Egyptian governor. To Berytus, Ribaddi in his extremity turned for the help which Egypt delayed to furnish. Domestic dissensions, a new distress, urged him thereto. "From my own subjects who will defend me if Egypt abandons me?" he had written earlier; he now writes more clearly: "Behold, one half of Gebal is attached to the sons of Abdashera, and one half to my lord." He proceeded to Berytus, and made, as he tells us, a covenant with Ammunira. Thence also he sent one of his sons to Egypt, to make in person a more moving and effectual application for troops.

During Ribaddi's absence, Gebal was left under the command of Rabimur his brother, who did not share to an

immoderate extent his zeal for the Egyptian cause. There are two letters of this date. One is superscribed: "To my lord the king, my son: Gebal your handmaid, Rabimur your servant," and circumstantially recites the misdeeds of Azira, who had put to death the king of Irecata, the king of Ardata, the king of Aminia, and occupied these cities, besides slaying an Egyptian rabu or deputy; while Itacama carried on a campaign of the same sort in the valley of the Leontes and the Orontes. The other, from Rabimur alone, says: "Let not the king regard all the communications of Azira. For that Azira is a rebel against the king is evident from the events at Simyra and from the reports of one of the king's governors, whom he killed."

While writing thus, Rabimur was meditating treachery. It would seem that about this time judgment was given in Ribaddi's protracted litigation (against Japa-addi?) mentioned above. As was to be expected if Janchamu was the judge, Ribaddi lost his case; consequently, Ribaddi's credit as one supposed to enjoy the confidence and protection of Egypt underwent a sudden fall. Concluding that the game was up, Rabimur "incited the city," as Ribaddi afterward wrote, "to deliver it to the sons of Abdashera."

The conspiracy was arrested by Ribaddi's return to Gebal; it would seem that Rabimur's treason did not until later become known to his brother, and the disaffection in Gebal continued to grow. Meanwhile the city underwent bitter sufferings; the sons and the daughters of the people had been sold into Egyptian bondage, and worse evils remained.

One of the rare Egyptian garrisons in Syria was now stationed at Cumidi, the stronghold of Namiawaza in

southern Lebanon. It appears that Ribaddi's prayers for armed help were not so absolutely disregarded as his complaints would indicate. On one occasion help was sent him from Cumidi, with dire consequences. Pachura, the successor or a lieutenant of Amanappa and commander at that place, had a body of the Suti in his pay. These Bedouin he detached and sent to Gebal. At the same time Ribaddi had in his pay at Gebal a company of the Shirdani—a name which arrests attention; with little doubt these were free lances of the isles of the sea, members of that prehistorical race which has left its name in Sardinia, or perhaps in the Lydian Sardis, and which reappears in Egyptian records in the following age. A grievous feud, it appears, existed between the Suti and the Shirdani; of this circumstance Pachura, a stranger to the manners of the country, may have been unaware. Perhaps he was misadvised by faithless allies, who calculated with cruel foresight what would happen. Ribaddi at least blames him in unmeasured terms: "A shameful deed, such as never has been known since ancient days, has been done against us." As soon as the Suti and the Shirdani came in contact mutual recognition took place between the hereditary foes; their present engagements were forgotten; a scene of murder was enacted, and the islanders were slain to the last man.

This singular mishap hurried the decline of Egyptian influence in its stronghold. Pachura, moreover, had sent three citizens of Gebal in chains to Egypt, a proceeding which affronted even Ribaddi. The double offence excited the populace. "Since that time the city has been in rebellion against me," writes Ribaddi; "let the king send troops, that the city may not be guilty of revolt."

These troubles brought him a second time to Berytus. "When my people turned against me," he explains later, "I said in my heart: I will go to him in friendship, even to Ammunira. And I went to his house to renew the covenant between us." At Berytus he saw the mariners with whom his son had sailed to Egypt, and heard news of him. "For on the day of my coming to Berut I sent my son to the king's court," he says, "but for three months he has not been in the presence of the king." Such were the delays of eastern etiquette. He goes on to complain: "If no help comes from my lord the king, then my people will say: Behold, Ribaddi remains in Berut and no help comes from Egypt. And they will subject themselves to Azira."

With reference to Ribaddi's visit, Ammunira writes thus: "As for the man of Gebal who is with me, I indeed guard him till the king shall remember his servant. Moreover, let my lord the king know the deeds of his brother who is in Gebal, that he has given the sons of Ribaddi to the king's enemies in Amurri."

Rabimur's treason was now unconcealed, and the anti-Egyptian party was rampant. The restless chief hastily forsook his asylum; perhaps Ammunira's attitude was not to his mind, since, on returning to Gebal, he writes: "I have no food for my people, I fear they will desert to Sidon and Berut. Verily, Abdashera's sons are enemies to the king, and Sidon and Berut do not favour the king."

Ribaddi found Gebal in intense agitation; he writes: "The inhabitants of Gebal, my own house, my wife, thus entreat me: 'Make friendship with Abdashera's sons, that we all may have peace.' But I did not consent, and did not hearken to them." He adds, alluding to his absence:

“When I returned to my house, they had shut the door against me.”

While all around him wavered, the grim old man, unsupported, mistrusted, falsely accused, betrayed, remained inexorable and immovable. But everything announced his impending destruction. The accumulated miseries of war and famine had reduced the besieged to a band of spectres. The chieftain's vast authority over his people, founded on patriarchal religion and strengthened by his personal qualities, daily crumbled; a growing party inclined to follow Rabimur.

And here Ribaddi passes from view. His letters cease, and his fate may be guessed. The fall of Gebal could not long be delayed. Concerning Berytus we can be less certain; hitherto, by temporising and intriguing, Ammunira had kept the good graces of the rebels. Besides, they were not in open rebellion against Egypt. But we may reckon that their scruples would wither in the final victory of a policy which aimed at nothing less than the expulsion of the Egyptian masters.

CHAPTER XII

ABDCHEBA OF JERUSALEM

MORE than two hundred letters, the work of forty or fifty hands, came from Southern Syria or Palestine. From these, although they overflow with surprising and instructive matters, we can restore no such eventful narrative as the messages of Ribaddi and his neighbours allow; nor are the incidents ranged around a dominant person comparable to Azira in the north. It is not that tumults were lacking in Southern Syria, but these were suppressed more promptly and had less sequence. It is clear that this region was very fully under Egyptian control. Whatever effective forces the Pharaoh could spare for service abroad were here exercised. This possession was tenaciously held. In the decline of the empire, the secession of Northern Syria and Middle Syria might be heard with patience; since these first had been conquered, it had happened again and again. But the lordship of Egypt over Southern Syria—at least over the region to the south of Mount Carmel and the valley of Jezreel—had been uninterrupted for centuries; and this portion of the empire was most thoroughly Egyptianised.

The princes of Palestine, although hereditary chiefs of their clans, were, in fact, merely functionaries of the

Egyptian court, nominated and removable at the pleasure of the masters. In this view of their condition they took pride. Thus Abdcheba, the king or governor of Jerusalem, writes: "Behold, neither my father nor my mother appointed me in this place, but the mighty arm of the king established me in my father's territory"—perhaps to the exclusion of a more strictly legitimate pretender. The same writer says again: "Behold, I am no prince (*chazianu*), but a deputy (*uweu*, an Egyptian title) of my lord the king. Behold, I am an officer (*ruhi*) of the king." The terms of official servitude were more esteemed than the title of patriarchal authority.

Many of the letters of these princes contain no more than an admission of the arrival of commands from the court, and a promise to obey. Sometimes the nature of the command appears. Very often it was no more than an injunction to remain in obedience; thus Subandi writes: "I have heard all the words of my lord the king, the sun in the heavens, and verily I am defending the city of my lord the king which has been given me, and I have heard clearly what I must do."

Sometimes it was a little more onerous, as the letter from Artamania, a prince of Bashan, seems to show: "Behold, you have bidden me join the troops. Could I be a Calbu (dog? slave?) and not go? Verily, with my men and my chariots, I am at the service of the troops whithersoever my lord the king shall command"; or as Itia the prince of Ascalon indicates: "Who could be a . . . and not hearken to the words of the king, the sun in the heavens? Verily, I have furnished all the victuals, the drinks, the cattle, the sheep, the honey, the oil, all

that my lord the king commanded. And, verily, I have delivered the tribute of the sun, as my lord the king, the sun in the heavens, commanded."

Not always were such ornate phrases in use; the uncouth Dagantacala ventures on a rejoinder. He says: "If my lord the great king says to me, Listen to your prince; I do listen heedfully. And if I did not listen to the prince, he soon would have taken me to task."

Sometimes a prince whose credit at court was relatively good was commissioned to punish a defaulting neighbour. Too often the charge was a welcome one, an occasion of paying off old scores. Shuardata writes: "My lord the king commanded me to make war on Keilah; I have done so, and the city has surrendered to me." We may believe that the humbled city in such a case paid not only the arrears of tribute, but also the expense of collection. When the commissioner was an ally of the defaulter, the business was not so agreeable; and perhaps this combination of circumstances explains the following mutilated letter, which was apparently from one prince to another: "To Shumcha . . . from Jab . . . At your feet I fall. You know your name is in disrepute with the king, and you should never return from Egypt . . . you would be lost . . . be lost. . . ."

It sometimes happened that a prince was summoned to court to clear himself of suspicions. The journey was dreaded by the guilty and the innocent, for the accused person was obliged to buy his peace of every important official. "He who goes to court before my lord the king must bring money," writes the same Shuardata in disgrace. Azira, as we saw, could brave the command; in Palestine,

with one's neighbours eager to put the law in motion, this was less easy. Malchiel, who had made the journey, writes thus after his return: "Let my lord the king know the deed which Janchamu has done against me since I left the court. Verily, he took three thousand talents from me, and said: 'Give me your wife and your sons, that I may kill them.'" Although Malchiel's complaint is doubtless grossly exaggerated, it is evident that the overseer, in the exercise of high and discretionary powers, had many opportunities of enriching himself by the proceeds of oppression.

From the old intimacy of Palestine and Egypt and the comparative shortness of the journey, it becomes probable that the Palestinian chiefs were generally instructed in the Egyptian culture, the wisdom of the Egyptians. Jabitiri says: "When I was young, Janchamu took me to Egypt, and I served my lord the king, and I dwelt at the door of my lord the king"; and this was probably a usual procedure. Several princes indicate a knowledge of the doctrine of Aten. We have seen how Abimelech of Tyre had exhibited this accomplishment to commend himself to the court. The following sentence, possibly a favourite passage from an Atenic hymn, recurs in the letters of three princes, Jabitiri, Tagi, and Addudaian:

"I look here and I look there, and there is no light; but I look to my lord the king, and there is light. And though a brick move away from under the coping, yet will I not move away from under the feet of my lord the king."

Tagi, moreover, quotes: "Whether we arise to heaven or descend into the earth, still are our heads in thy hand."

It is superfluous to remark the resemblance of this thought to a familiar passage in the P'salms.

Palestine lay beyond the range of the Hittite monarch's influence; nevertheless it contained numerous settlers of Hittite origin, vassals of the Egyptian king. There is evidence that Lapaia, the prince of Shechem, was a Hittite in this sense. Names such as Artamania, Shuardata, Arzawia, Biridia, Shutarna seem to belong to the Hittite language. How plentiful were settlements of this race, how far they extended over Syria, cannot easily be estimated. Like the Normans and like the Turks—and very unlike the Semites—the Hittites seem to have had a facility in adopting the culture which they found practised around them. Their racial identity thus easily became effaced; for example, Lapaia's son sinks his origin in a purely Semitic name, Mutbaal. From such considerations we find at least that the scriptural account of Abraham's dealings with the Hittites of Kirjath-arba, or Hebron, contains nothing that is incredible from the point of view of geographical distribution.

Visitors of a more disquieting repute were the Chabiri, who swarmed in both eastern and western Palestine. As in the north, the nomads here also took service with the native princes in their private wars; but as often they co-operated with these on terms of equality, and even assumed control over the chiefs and conducted enterprises on their own behalf. An expression common to many of the letter-writers is: "The land of my lord the king has fallen away to the Chabiri": probably the princes bought the friendship of the marauders by a tax or composition. Malchiel writes: "Let my lord the king rescue his land from

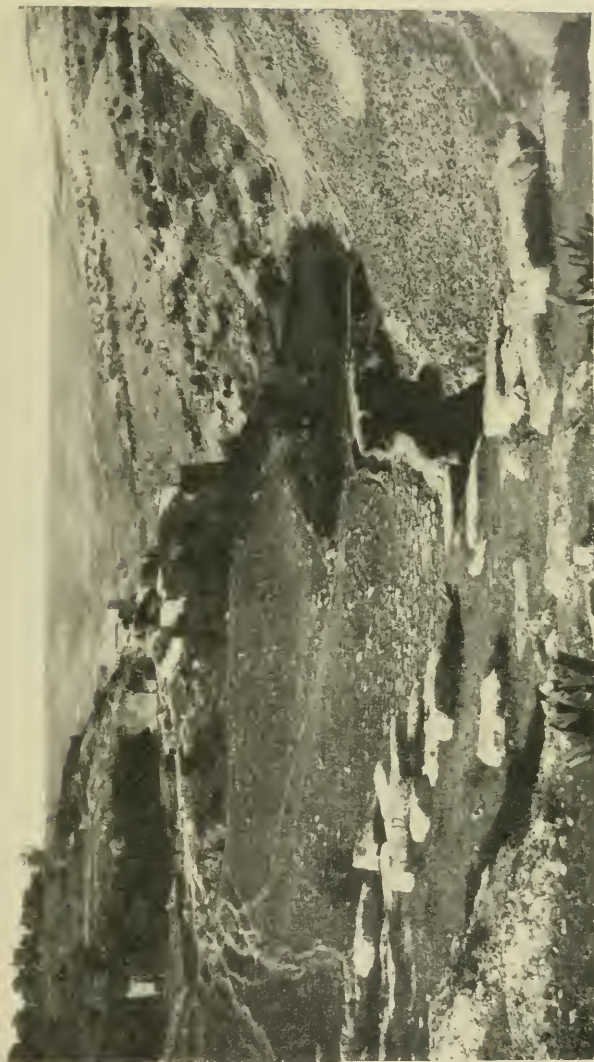
the Chabiri." Japachu the prince of Gezer says: "The Chabiri are mighty against us; let my lord the king deliver us out of their hands, lest they destroy us utterly." But the bitterest accusations against the strangers occur in the letters of Abdcheba, who saw in them a great future danger. He writes, with zealous excess: "The king no longer has any land, the Chabiri have wasted all the king's land." The slowness of officials to appreciate the gravity of the situation tried his patience. "What offence have I committed?" he writes; "because I said to the officer of my lord the king: 'Why do you favour the Chabiri and disfavour the princes of the land?' therefore they slander me before my lord the king. Because I say: 'The land of my lord the king will be ruined'; therefore they slander me before my lord the king." From this it would appear that the Chabiri also had the ear of the court, or at least of the officer in Palestine; and possibly entered into the calculations of the latter as a useful counterpoise to the arrogance of the princes.

The Suti, who played a great part in the northern troubles, were present also in the south; but not in force, since they are mentioned only once or twice as acting in conjunction with the Chabiri.

Abdcheba, the prince of Jerusalem, appears as one of the notable personalities of the time; in wearying persistence and in fidelity, real or pretended, to the Egyptian interest, this ruler was the southern counterpart of Ribaddi. Whether he had a jurisdiction over the other princes, or his concern for their honour betokens merely an officious disposition, it is difficult to decide. He lays peculiar stress on the attachment of Jerusalem to the Pharaoh; he says: "Behold the king has put his name upon Jerusalem for ever,

therefore he cannot forsake his city"; a vaunt which history has treated with strange irony. Again he says: "Behold my lord the king has put his name upon the east and upon the west." With artless assumption, in recounting his vexations, he cries: "If one could see, would one not see the tears of my lord the king because of the enmity that prevails against me!" Peculiar to this correspondent is the postscript to the king's scribe, which he usually attaches to his letters. Fearful lest his compositions should be rendered carelessly, he takes pains to conciliate the interpreter by a benign greeting, and enjoins his attention to the pith of his message: "Bring these words plainly before the king," etc. With all his wariness, Abdcheba did not evade censure; he was actually charged with meditating revolt; an accusation which he indignantly repels. An unhappy affair for him was the robbery, in the vale of Ajalon, within his territory, of a caravan bound for Egypt. Without denouncing the culprits (whom he doubtless knew too well), he argues against the injustice of holding him answerable for the crime, and contrives to shift the blame to the Egyptian authorities themselves, who had withdrawn a garrison from Jerusalem. The occurrence is a forcible instance of the decay of the Egyptian authority.

Lapaia essayed in a narrower field the career of Azira in the north. The ambition of the prince of Shechem, as of the later chiefs of northern Israel, was to gain possession of the plain of Jezreel. About this time dissensions took place in Gezer; Japachu, the prince of this place, writes to say that his brother had rebelled, had made a treaty with the Chabiri, and had occupied Muchazi, a neighbouring town. Gezer, in fact, swarmed with unquiet spirits; descending



Bozfits.

VALLEY OF JEHOSEPHAT.

thither, Lapaia solicited the people to join him, and drew a party over to his cause. This proceeding he did not regard as an act of rebellion; it was a precaution against the slanders of his enemies, and especially against Malchiel, between whom and himself he invites the king to judge. "Verily I am a faithful servant of the king," he writes; "I have committed no offence; I have not withheld my tribute; I have obeyed the king's officers." A letter containing many assurances of his good faith he closes with this extravagant climax: "If the king asked for my wife, I would not refuse her; if he wrote: 'Thrust a sword of bronze through your heart,' I would not fail to obey!"

With his augmented forces the adventurer proceeded to the vale of Jezreel. There he besieged and carried a number of towns, Shunem, Barcuna, Rehob, Gath-rimmon. His star paled before the strong walls of Megiddo. Biridia, the governor of that city, thus intimates his arrival in the vicinity: "Since the troops have been withdrawn from Megiddo, Lapaia has committed injuries against me. Because of Lapaia we dare not go forth from the gate, we dare not go forth to the harvest. And, now verily, Lapaia seeks to take Megiddo." Biridia prays the king to send a double garrison to defend this important stronghold; and his desire was not withheld. Jashdata, perhaps a local prince, arrived to his assistance with troops; Biridia and Jashdata took the field together. In the changeful fortune of war, Lapaia was defeated and his followers were dispersed. Himself was taken prisoner and lodged in Megiddo; whence Biridia purposed to send him in chains to Egypt, there to answer for his offences.

At this point Surata, the prince of Acco, intervened.

We learn that Surata was Biridia's younger brother. Biridia appears to have steadfastly adhered to the Egyptian interest; Surata's politics we know. The latter represented the inconvenience of carrying the prisoner through his own territory, where he infallibly would be rescued, to say nothing of his allies farther south. "Upon a ship I will bring him to the king," he said; and he artfully persuaded his brother to entrust Lapaia to his keeping. But instead of sending the rebel in a ship from Acco, the faithless custodian suffered him to escape.

Lapaia's career was to be neither long nor glorious. With new forces he returned to the fray and was slain in attacking Gina, another stronghold of Jezreel. A letter of Shuardata contains this brief intimation: "Lapaia, who took our cities, is dead."

But if Lapaia was dead, his sons lived to carry on his work. One of these was Mutbaal, who was commissioned by the king to convoy Egyptian caravans a part of the way to Mitannia and Babylon. This had been Lapaia's work in past times, and his son did not scorn the office, which was less remunerative than robbery. "Who am I, that I should not escort my lord the king's caravans?" he writes; "Let my lord the king send caravans, and I will conduct them by the quickest way." This duty did not hinder his brethren, perhaps himself, from continuing the rebellious proceedings of Lapaia. They made their first onset in the vale of Jezreel. Biridia writes: "The two sons of Lapaia have hired the Chabiri, and the land is fallen to their power."

Matters assumed a new phase when Malchiel, who had been Lapaia's enemy, made a treaty with the sons.

Adduasharidu writes: "Messengers from Malchiel to Lapaia's sons do not cease calling to rebellion." The same informer says that he was violently solicited by the rebels, who exhorted him to assault Gina, the place where Lapaia had fallen. "And if you do not make war on Gina we will make war on you, they had threatened"; he suggests that a commission should be given to Namiawaza to reduce these dangerous foes.

From the letters of Abdcheba we learn more of Lapaia's sons. Relinquishing the conquest of Jezreel as above their powers, they descended to the maritime plain; there they met with greater success, if we may believe Abdcheba's reports. "Behold Gezer, Ascalon and Lachish have given them meat, oil and all provisions," he writes. Malchiel secured the co-operation of Tagi his father-in-law (the old Aten-worshipper). The sons of Arzawia joined them. Lastly, Shuardata was drawn into the league. Somewhat earlier this chieftain had denounced the defection of Keilah, suggesting that troops ought to be sent to crush that town. A commission, which possibly he expected, was given him to take this matter in hand for himself; his next letter announces the submission of Keilah; but it does not seem that the conquest redounded to his quiet. He complains: "Why did Abdcheba write to the people of Keilah saying: 'Take money and join me?'" It does not appear whether the people of Keilah responded or not to that appeal. Perhaps Keilah, like Gezer and other places, was divided in hostile factions. Abdcheba writes thus: "Behold the evil deeds of Malchiel and Shuardata against the king's land: they have hired warriors of Gezer, of Gath and of Keilah, and have taken the territory of Rubuti (Ha-rabbah? Rehob?). And

now also a town of the territory of Jerusalem, namely, Bit-ninib (Beth-shemesh?) has been lost to the people of Keilah."

In the midst of his conquests, Shuardata received the unwelcome summons to render himself at court; and not all the wiles of Reynard the fox could long defer the journey. He writes indeed: "Let my lord the king know that thirty cities have made war upon me; let my lord the king deliver me out of the hands of my enemies. Let my lord the king send soldiers to save me. Verily, is not Janchamu the rabisu of my lord the king? Let my lord the king give him command to save me. Mighty are the enemies of Shuardata and he has no helper!" Moreover, Malchiel interposes in behalf of his ally: "Let my lord the king know that enmity is bitter against me, and also against Shuardata. Let my lord the king deliver his land from the Chabiri; but if not, then let my lord the king send chariots and carry us into Egypt, that our servants may not rise against us." This prayer to be taken to Egypt was nothing but a weak anticipation of the expected summons. It is probably now that Malchiel actually made that journey, on the return from which he was so severely fined and misused by Janchamu. Tagi, another offender, possibly gained forgiveness by a timely exhibition of Atenic lore.

And now silence falls, suddenly and utterly. In the midst of their struggling, scheming, caballing, the princes of Canaan fade from our view. The world we have so nearly examined withdraws to its true place in the long aisle of the centuries, and we perceive its remoteness. No hint of tradition or fable comes to finish the story. We are like an astronomer who must look with naked eye at

the planet he has watched through a telescope; the object has receded into immensity, its fine features have shrunk to a point of light; he feels the vast gulf through which its beams have travelled to his eyes.

Our next glimpse of Syria discovers it after a lapse of years, and under very different conditions.

CHAPTER XIII

RAMSES II IN SYRIA

CHUENATEN died in 1365 B.C., after a reign of twelve years. The Amarna letters cease before this date, and for a space of forty years thereafter we have little direct information about Syria; the events of that interval must be supplied by conjecture.

The downfall of Mitannia was not long delayed. Very probably Dushratta was its last native ruler. The absolute disappearance of this important state from historical tradition is a matter of sobering thoughts. Once it had extended from the Orontes eastward to the Tigris. Probably the advance of Egypt northward under the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty was the first check to its prosperity. The wars with Egypt were followed by an alliance which long held it from decay, until, lastly, the friendship of Egypt had become worthless. Now it was assailed at once by the Hittites on the west and by the Assyrians on the east; while there is ground to suppose that hordes of Aramean nomads were beginning to infest it on the south. Pressed by such enemies, Mitannia was overthrown and blotted from the roll of nations. Its possessions were parted between the conquerors: Nineveh, the seat of Istar, was taken by the Assyrians and was to be their later

capital; Carchemish, on the Euphrates, became a Hittite capital; the swarming of barbarian Semites on the fringes of the Syrian desert postponed for ages the resumption of that happy intercourse which so long had united the races of the Nile and the Euphrates.

Meanwhile in Syria the Hittites gained the advantages abandoned by the Egyptians in their retreat. Already masters in Northern Syria, they now asserted their dominion over Lebanon, Antilibanus, Hermon and Galilee. The Hittite conquest differed completely from the Egyptian; deficient in the genius for colonising, the Egyptians had been content to exact tribute of the conquered people, leaving them otherwise undisturbed in their heritages; the Hittites, on the contrary, formed settlements and allotted to themselves the best parts of the land. Already under the Egyptian supremacy we have observed how numerous were colonies of Hittite origin in all parts of Syria; and the influence of such groups in favour of the political ascendancy of their kindred can easily be reckoned. Syria found it had achieved only a change of oppressors. The dream of Abdashera and his sons of an Amorite kingdom in Middle Syria was either not fulfilled at all, or came into being only under Hittite control, and in any case did not attain many years of existence. Possibly in this period took place the foundation of Kadesh on the lake of Homs as a southern capital of the Hittite rulers. It must be said that perplexity arises from the number of towns of this name without distinctive qualification. Possibly another Kadesh (the later Baalbek or Heliopolis, at the source of the *Örönte*s and the Litany?) became capital of the transitory Amorite confederation. The Old Testament has traditions of Amorite

kingdoms east of Jordan, in Gilead and in Bashan; such notices imply that groups of these tribes moved southward before the Hittite inroads, and carved out for themselves new possessions where they could.

The Phœnician towns readily submitted to the new order, and were probably little affected by the change: their tribute-offerings, which had gone southward, now went northward. The open sea and the vast virgin fields of commerce that lay beyond yielded them other interests. They plunged into that life of activity which homeward tyranny could tax but not discourage. From this time it is that the Phœnicians began to fulfil their great vocation as traffickers of the Mediterranean Sea and beyond, and to send out colonising expeditious to Africa and Spain.

The Hittite dominion was probably unhappy for civilisation in Syria. Although we know little of the culture of the northern invaders, it was doubtless inferior in all respects to that of the Egyptians and to that of the Syrians themselves; the latter, therefore, had little to learn of their new masters. The change of rule disturbed the continuity of civilisation, and disconcerted such progress as may have begun to appear. That the effect was not wholly bad may be admitted. By weakening the force of old traditions of Babylonia and Egypt, by clearing the ground, the Hittite invasion prepared the rise of a native Syrian culture.

It is not clear whether the Hittites effected the conquest of Palestine southward of Jezreel. Probably that region was never absolutely relinquished by Egypt; in any case it was soon recovered, and that despite the large number of Hittite adventurers by whom it was colonised.

The affairs of Egypt during this interval are almost as

obscure as those of Syria. Imminent or actual civil war desolated the land of Nile. Chuenaten's early death was an irreparable blow to the party which he had favoured. This king left no son to succeed him, but a number of daughters; according to the ideas and practice of the Egyptians regarding succession, women were more proper to transmit than to inherit the kingly state. The husbands of the princesses, either as being such or as otherwise related to the royal race, were eligible to reign, but by a weak title. To assure their seat these rulers, although committed to the heretical doctrines, were obliged to make concessions and to temporise. ACENCHRES, the immediate successor of Chuenaten, did not recede from the position of his father-in-law in respect to the adoration of Aten; early in his reign, however, he found it advisable to leave the new capital. Shorn of the regal splendour, Chutaten was not indeed immediately abandoned by the faithful, but fell nevertheless into swift and sudden decay. RATHOTIS, the next occupant of the throne, was obliged to renounce the worship of Aten and to reinstate Ammon in his ancient position. The priests of the Theban divinity regained all their ascendancy; but the solar creed, although renounced by the throne, retained many private adherents, and continued to be a cause of strife and a power in politics.

The reigns of Acenchres and Rathotis were of twelve and eight years. None of the daughters of Chuenaten appear to have left issue; thus the sacred blood of Amosis was nearly exhausted. The next two kings were perhaps remotely related to the royal house. AY was a priest, and his elevation to the throne betokens the positive triumph of Ammonism; to which, however, it seems he had but lately

acceded, since his untenanted tombs at Chutaten represent him as having been in earlier life a disciple of the forbidden doctrine. Doubtless prudence authorised many such reversions. During Ay's reign, and that of his predecessor, the real power had been wielded by ARMAIS, a statesman and general who had distinguished himself in allaying the religious animosity of parties. When Ay died, after a reign of eight years, Armais was raised to the throne. His own relation to the royal house is unknown; but to strengthen his title he appears to have married late in life, and purely as a political necessity, an elderly vestal, perhaps the last member of the race of Amosis. And so with him comes the eighteenth dynasty to an end. The long dissensions had now calmed and order was restored, but Egypt was spiritless and exhausted by the fever it had passed through. Had Armais reigned longer he might have accomplished much, for he was a man of weight and courage. It was probably he who reasserted the dominion of the Pharaohs in Southern Syria, neglected since the days of Chuenaten; and he seems to have concluded a friendly treaty with the Hittites. But the throne of Egypt languished in the tenancy of one whose best title to rule was personal value.

By what mystic rite the divine effluence was recaptured we know not. In 1328 B.C. the triumphant priesthood inaugurated a new race of kings, the nineteenth dynasty. Ammon in all his fulness was again incarnated. A ritual enacted not oftener than once in two or three centuries must have been of awful solemnity, and must have impressed the public imagination as an event of mighty significance. The coming of a new dynasty was a time of

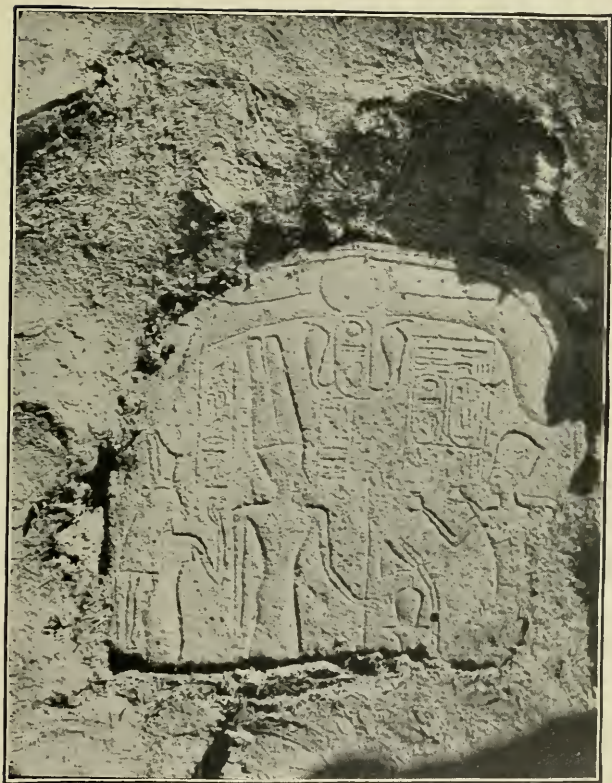
renewed national and religious sentiment. For the priesthood, which doubtless had a decisive voice in choosing the candidate for adoption, the occasion of reaffirming its own privileges was not likely to be omitted; and in the coming reigns we shall find Ammon in higher and undebated honour; of the obnoxious heresy no vestige appears. The pious expectation of a new age of prosperity was not wholly delusive; although the durable victories of the eighteenth dynasty were not to be rewon. The monumental vainglory of the new Pharaohs disguised a measurable decline in the force of the nation and the inspiration of its rulers. The coming age, moreover, had to reckon with a scourge unknown to the past—the onset of barbarous races from the west and from the north; a great displacement of peoples, in which we perhaps may discern the reverberation produced by the entry of Aryan nations in southern Europe.

RAMSES I, the first king of the new line, was at his accession already an elderly man, and his reign was quite short; it is possible that he gained the crown only because it would have been impious for a son to reign while his father lived. He was succeeded by his son SETHOS I, the real choice of the nation. This able ruler, relying on the inward peace and the improved resources of Egypt, turned his attention to recovering the lost empire of his predecessors.

The first year of Sethos' reign was occupied by a campaign in Nubia. His second and following years were devoted to Syria. The wars of Sethos are depicted in a great series of reliefs sculptured on a Theban hall; naturally the interpretation of pictures, though accompanied by

hieroglyphic explanation, is less assured and more indefinite than that of a written account would be.

Reports were brought to Egypt of disturbances in Palestine. The vile Shasu had plotted rebellion; the chiefs of the tribes, assembled at one place on the borders of Charu (Palestine), had been possessed by a spirit of discord and slew one another. "Vile" is the epithet regularly used of people at war with Egypt, and has no descriptive sense. Who, it may be asked, were the Shasu who now gathered on the confines of Palestine, causing dispeace? may we associate them with the Chabiri of the foregoing age? The route taken by the Egyptian army was an unusual one, indicative of new political conditions. Former expeditions had followed the coast-road from Gaza to Carmel, most directly to reach Phœnicia and the plains of Jezreel and Damascus; now those rich lands were subject to other masters, and before a blow for their recovery could be struck, it was needful to make certain of the southern tablelands, which themselves had lapsed from Egyptian control. Sethos therefore led his forces eastward through the desert, holding the southern uplands on his left. The extent and the direction of this journey cannot be ascertained, because the places named are difficult to identify; a singularity of the new order of things is the renaming of Palestinian towns and forts by Egyptian names. Possibly the route led by Beersheba, and thence turned northward by the wady-el-Khulil, thus striking into the heart of the southern highlands. A battle-scene is represented at Pacanana, a fortress possessing a lake or reservoir; this has been identified as Kanan, near Hebron. The Shasu are defeated, and Sethos pursues them north-



Palestine Exploration Fund.
STELE OF SETHOS I. FOUND IN EASTERN PALESTINE.

ward through southern and middle Palestine. The scene changes to southern Lebanon, where many towns are reduced to subjection; at Hazor, by lake Merom, Sethos received the homage of the Syrian chieftains. Crowned with victory, the Pharaoh returned to Egypt with numerous prisoners and much booty; the dedication of which in the temple of Ammon was a triumphal holiday, recalling the great celebrations of the olden days.

In a following year Sethos advanced to the Amorite Kadesh, and fought its inhabitants. In this incursion he encountered the dreaded Hittites; one scene represents him pursuing a Hittite chariot, another returning with many prisoners of that race. But the brush with the enemy was not important or decisive; it was reserved for his successor to try the strength of the northern power.



SYRIAN PRINCES ON LEBANON
FELLING TREES FOR SETHOS I
(AFTER ROSELLINI).

During a series of years, expeditions into Syria were renewed. Egypt began to recover her lost empire. The lists of conquered towns (given on other monuments) assert a dominion not smaller than that of Thothmosis, a pretension which must be received with some reserve. Undoubtedly, the dominion of Egypt was extended in this reign, captives and spoil were taken, many states renewed their submission to the Pharaoh; what was lacking was the power of effectually retaining these conquests.

The warlike career of Sethos in Syria appears to have been closed by a treaty of peace with the Hittites, by which a definite limit was set to the Egyptian empire. Sethos died about 1300 B.C., and was succeeded by his son RAMSES II, the most renowned of all the monarchs of Egypt, if not the ablest or greatest.

The new Pharaoh was young, brilliant, and eager for glory; without the solider qualities of Thothmosis III, he aspired to equal that king's achievements. The range of his ambition was indeed strictly limited by the covenant which Sethos had made with the Hittites, and it is certain that he chafed against the restriction. In his second year he conducted an expedition along the coast of Palestine and Phœnicia—beyond Berytus, and as far at least as the mouth of the river Lycus, where the natural road leads inward over a pass of Lebanon; a daring journey which announced a bold and spirited policy. On the face of a cliff overhanging the waves he caused a tablet to be engraved, in which he appears in the act of smiting a Syrian before Ammon. The sculpture, worn smooth by time, almost obliterated, is there still; more than eight centuries after its erection it was seen, with others which had been made beside it, by the Greek sightseer Herodotus, who ascribed it to the fabulous Sesostris; a name under which the victories of Thothmosis and the vanity of Ramses were confounded and magnified.

Of Ramses' third year we have no record; in his fourth year he again advanced to the Lycus and placed a second tablet beside the first, this time in honour of Ra. The military efficacy of these inroads may not have been great, but they probably were a breach of the understanding with the



STATUE OF RAMSES II.
(Turin Museum.)

Anderson.

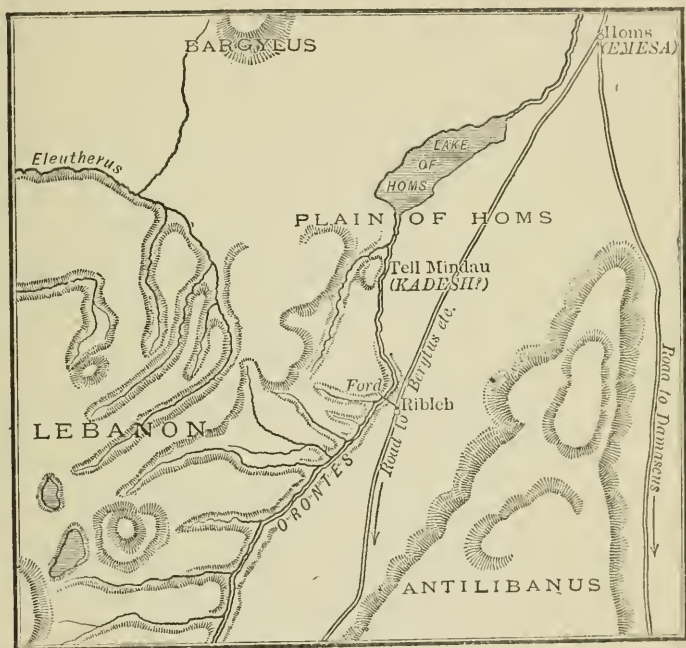
Hittite power, and as such they excited alarm and indignation in Northern Syria. Thence most important consequences flowed. The Hittite monarch, finding himself in the situation, hitherto unfamiliar, of a defender against aggression, took speedy and ample measures of protection by assembling his vassals and allies from far and near.

The list of nations which Mautenel the Hittite overlord summoned to his standard raises an interesting question as to the extent of his sway, or of the confederacy of which he formed part. Quite naturally Kadesh on the Orontes, Carchemish, Circesium on the Euphrates, and the region of Naharina, whence the Mitannian power had been swept away, obeyed the call. Arvad, the northern seaport (a very early ally, as we know), is distinguished from the rest of Phœnicia; which seems to be comprehended under the name of the Cedi. Nuchashia and Ugaritia, those states which we find so often named in the Amarna letters, sent their contribution of warriors. Of unknown places, or such as may be identified more or less happily on the modern map, Cashcash, Pidasas, Cazanadana, and Mushena are named; these places were probably in Northern Syria or in south-eastern Asia Minor. The chief of Tonosa in northern Cappadocia was to find a grave by the Orontes. Remoter allies were the Lycians, concerning whom there can be no doubt; but what explanation can be given of the names Masa, Arwena (or Iliuna), Dardani, which seem to be no other than Mysia, the remote north-western province of Asia Minor; Ilion, its renowned capital; Dardania, the antique name of the Troad? A weary journey divided that region from the concerns and the interests of Syria, and the occurrence of the names must cause surprise; if one

were given, it would be most natural to search the map for an equivalent nearer the scene. But the cumulative evidence of three names together is not easily set aside. From this circumstance the list of Trojan allies cited in the *Iliad* wins a new interest. To the defence of Troy also Lycians gathered, with Carians and Paphlagonians; and attention is due to the surmise, which modern excavations tend to confirm, that Asia Minor then formed a large empire, or at least a confederacy of nations which joined their forces at times against the rude wanderers of Europe, and at times against the settled states of western Asia.

Ramses was not alarmed by the report of these mighty preparations, in which he saw rather the assurance of military glory; but made like preparations on his side. He hastened the departure of his army to Syria, in order to forestall aggressive action by the enemy; and by forced marches advanced along the now familiar road. From the mouth of the Lycus he struck inland, crossed the ridge of Lebanon, and descended the valley of the Orontes. The Egyptian army, which evidently was recruited according to a feudal principle, consisted of four territorial divisions; each division was named after the deity supreme in its province: Ammon of Thebes, Ptah of Memphis, Ra of Heliopolis, Sutech of the Syrian allies. It would seem that the last (Sutech, it may be recalled, was the god of the Hycsos) was less an object of actual worship than a convenient designation in the interests of system, a conventional deity assigned to the Asiatics by Egyptian officialism. It is noteworthy that a body of the Shirdani was enrolled in Ramses' army. Formerly

we saw a band of this race in the pay of Ribaddi at Gebal; the fact of their now taking service against the Hittite confederacy indicates that they are not to be reckoned a people of Asia Minor—we seem to see the



SCENE OF BATTLE OF KADESH.

western and the eastern foes of the peninsular empire united against it.

The august Pharaoh in person led the first division, the Theban brigade. At a considerable distance behind followed the Heliopolitan command; a like interval delayed the division of Memphis. The allies were left behind to guard the rear, to hold the Phœnician coast and keep open communications. In his eagerness to reach the

scene of strife, Ramses neglected the precaution of concentrating his forces in presence of the enemy. Marching at headlong speed, the brigade of Ammon emerged from the narrower valley of the Orontes and defiled into the plain of Homs, without having yet encountered opposition in any quarter. Actually it was marching amidst hidden foes, and was now nearing the scene where a blow must be struck if struck at all. The measures of the Hittites appear to have been calculated with much skill.

In the middle of the plain the Orontes widens to a lake; Kadesh, the sacred capital of the Hittites, seems to have stood at or near the shore of the lake, perhaps on the hill now called tell Mindau, on the left bank of the Orontes, some three miles south of the lake; the Egyptian army appears to have been on the western side of the river, marching towards the town. At this point two Syrians were brought into the camp, bearing a message from a local chief. They were taken into Pharaoh's presence, and their words are characteristic:

"We are two brothers, servants to the chiefs of the tribes of the Shasu which serve the king of Cheta. But they commanded us to go unto Pharaoh and speak thus: we desire to serve the king of Egypt, that we may serve no more the king of Cheta. And now behold the king of Cheta abides in Aleppo, for he fears Pharaoh who cometh against him."

The deceitful report was heard without suspicion; and Ramses marched onward, passing the town of Kadesh—seemingly in pursuance of his system of forced marches, and perhaps in the hope of rivalling the exploits of Thothmosis by raising a stele of victory at the Euphrates.

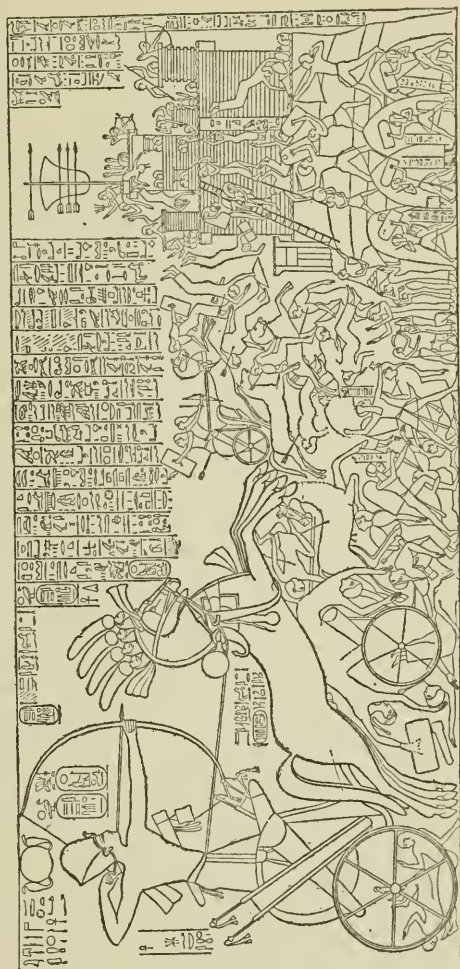
But before he had reached the lake, two Hittite spies were captured by the Egyptian scouts, and taken into camp. Under the influence of torture, they emitted a more truthful declaration: the king of Cheta, together with his allies, was stationed in ambush behind Kadesh. Thus the Egyptian army was cut in two, for the brigade of Ra was not yet abreast of Kadesh, and the brigade of Ptah was still a considerable distance behind. Too late, the danger of this straggling order occurred to the king's thoughts, and he sent back messengers to hasten the second and the third divisions. Meanwhile, the Hittites and their allies, unseen themselves, were posted on higher ground overhanging the road which these had to travel, and there awaited a suitable moment to strike. When the Ra-brigade had reached the point where the enemy lay hidden, the occasion appeared. The Hittite cavalry made a sudden charge and cut the Egyptian army in two; the latter was immediately thrown into confusion; numbers were mown down in the first onset, and those who survived became a confused and helpless multitude. The foremost ranks, spared by the direct onrush of the enemy, broke into headlong flight, and speedily overtook the brigade of Ammon; the swiftest of the fugitives brought the news of the mishap to Ramses.

This trying moment disclosed the best qualities of the young monarch. Commanding the Ammon-brigade to follow, he thundered back to the scene of battle. His coming was opportune, and the reinforcements which accompanied and followed him barely sufficed to balance the contending forces. In the restored battle Ramses performed miracles of valour—if we may believe the

bombastic accounts in which they are commemorated. Six times, it is said, he headed a charge into the thick of the enemy; the mighty men of Arvad and Carchemish, of Dardania and Ilion quailed before him, their arms were powerless, their hearts failed them; by his sole prowess the fortune of Egypt was upheld. His body-guard of chosen braves yielded for a moment to fear, recoiled from the foe and exposed their sacred charge; he was alone amidst the enemy. The view of that sea of stern faces and brandished arms affected the charioteer who stood beside him with craven qualms; Ramses alone was tranquil, firm in the virtue of his celestial origin and in the immediate support of his father Ammon, an inspiring, though invisible presence. The enemy testified to his supernatural might, though by other constructions: "No mortal is this who is among us," they cried; "it is the mighty Sutech, it is Baal in man's form!" And again: "Behold, verily the mighty Sutech is with him, guiding his horses, leading him by the hand."

Finally, the valour or the numbers of the Egyptian host prevailed. The enemy was beaten to the river's edge; many warriors leaped into the water and swam to the farther side, others crossed where the river was fordable; doubtless not a few profited by the occasion to disperse to their several homes. But the bulk of the Hittite army withdrew in good order into Kadesh; if indeed Ramses was master of the field, his victory was dearly bought, and was not one of decisive importance.

This battle is the subject of a poetical recital, the so-called epic of the scribe Pentaur. The composition has no traces of metrical division, nor is anything known of an



RAMSES II STORMING THE HITTITE FORTRESS OF DAPUR (TABOR?) (AFTER LEPSIUS).

Egyptian prosody or even of Egyptian pronunciation; and it would be absurd to weigh the scribe Pentaur in the scales of Homer. But the contents, and even the style, recall the *Iliad*, and suggest the daring comparison. The author has the Homeric art of arranging his tale clearly, and he relates it with proper feeling and the relish of details. His similes are as plentiful as Homer's, and to the original hearers they perhaps were as impressive. Here, as in the battle-pieces of the Greek master, in the rage of conflict there is time for long speeches and leisurely epithets; here also the gods directly intervene on the field; the herd of common warriors are of little account, and the exploits of kings decide the issue. But the matter rather than the manner justifies our comparison. The Egyptian poet introduces the armies of Asia Minor on an expedition which may have been the subject of old men's stories in the youth of Nestor and Priam. Writing with contemporary knowledge, he allows some positive tokens to transpire which generally confirm the Homeric pictures; as the mutual aid and alliance of the states of Asia Minor, already noticed. Here, too, the noble warriors are mounted on chariots, and their weapons are the bow, the spear, and the sword. Each chariot carries three men, and is drawn by two horses. The clients and humbler tribesmen are afoot. The herald, the *kerux* of Homer, is a powerful and venerated officer.

In keeping with the prosaic mould of the Egyptian imagination, Pentaur's poem seems tame and dull when compared with the magnificent epics of Babylonia; but it presents a correctness and a restraint in which those are lacking. By contemporaries the work appears to have



Piromali.

RAMESSEUM.
Ramses II. worshipping Ammon.

been admired, as may be judged by the fact that more than one copy survive. It was held worthy to be engraved on the walls of a Theban temple; but we scarcely wrong the poet in suspecting this honour to have been earned by his flattering description of the king's prowess, which indeed is his whole subject. At no time has poetical genius been found irreconcilable with gross adulation of the mighty.

A portion of the Egyptian host, whether that of Ammon or that of Ptah does not appear, abstained from the battle until all was over; these deserters the Pharaoh roundly reproached with their cowardice and ingratitude: "There is none among you whom I have not enriched; daily I raise you to high estate; the son I secure in the possessions of his father; in times of pest I remit your tribute; I accord you shares of the spoil; your prayers I myself present before the gods; I give you to rest in your houses in peace. And now, behold, you have given me a base recompense," etc. The taunts are directed wholly against the captains and the men of substance. From the relief given to this untoward matter in a triumphal poem, it becomes evident that the decay of the Egyptian spirit was perceived and keenly bewailed in that reign. It moreover may be guessed that the barrenness of the victory was ascribed to the cowardice here reproved. That Ramses was justified in claiming the victory cannot be disputed. He encamped on the field of battle; and next day came from Kadesh a herald bearing a written supplication, which the poet professes to reproduce.

The substance of the message, after many fulsome compliments to the Pharaoh, appears in the last lines:

“Thy hand is heavy on the land of Cheta; is it good to kill thy servants? Thou has exercised thine arms against them; wilt thou not be satiated? Yesterday thou camest and slewest a million of thy servants; come to-day, victorious king, to grant us the breath of life.” Ramses did not spurn the prayer, which perhaps accorded with his wishes. Before sending an answer he convened his officers and generals in council to discuss the matter. Their advice was promptly given: “Thou dost well to be appeased, O king . . . who can soothe thee in thy day of wrath?” From this point the conclusion is hastened with a brevity which suggests embarrassment in the poet. Nothing is said of terms of surrender. Forthwith the Egyptian army returned home and the campaign was over; nor, although Ammon is represented as hailing the king with compliments, is there any mention of the dedication of spoil or captives to the god. Ramses had his glory for reward, and the conquerors of antiquity set greater store by substantial trophies.

CHAPTER XIV

THE HITTITE TREATY

OF the events of the following years we have no circumstantial account. For a time the agreement made at Kadesh was respected, and there was peace between the two powers. Three years later (in his eighth year) Ramses was again at war with the Hittites. We almost may suspect that their aggressions provoked the quarrel. The scene was now Galilee, quite a hundred miles south of Kadesh on the Orontes; thus had the Hittite dominions increased at the expense of the Egyptian; and thus early was the ambitious youth reduced to defend existing possessions, who in the outset of his reign had aspired to the fame of a mighty warrior. The only monument of this campaign is a list of towns which are reported to have submitted to the Pharaoh.

Of later years the notices are fewer and less instructive. Detached and dateless monuments attest expeditions farther afield. In one instance Ramses besieged Tunip in the land of Naharina. There the statue of the Pharaoh formerly had been placed, and his divinity recognised. The change in political circumstances had called that faith in doubt; and the expedition probably was taken to avenge an insult offered to the image. With his usual impetuosity

the king led the assault on the walls in person. At another time the tide of war had retired as far as Ascalon. Through twenty years of Ramses' reign hostilities were prolonged; and they ceased only with the famous treaty of his twenty-first year.

The course of events which preceded and prepared this settlement can only be guessed. Heth was the waxing and Egypt the waning power; but it cannot be held that Egypt was uniformly unfortunate. The terms of the treaty rather imply that the two powers found themselves balanced, and came to the wise conclusion that continued enmity was to the advantage of neither party.

A number of treaties had been made between Egypt and the Hittites in times past, but the present one seems to have been of a more binding and solemn character than those. By both nations its enactment was considered an event of primary importance, and its consequence was to transform the relations between them. As this treaty is moreover the oldest known to history of which we have the authentic words, a short sketch of its terms and contents may be interesting.

The original document was written in the Babylonian language and signs, still as of old the medium of diplomacy. It seems to have been dictated by the Hittite king, as the more considerable of the two monarchs; but the terms indicate no leaning to his interests, and are reciprocal in every article. If any advantage was gained by him, it must have depended on the choice of the subjects of agreement and on the omissions, concerning which we can form no judgment now. The treaty was engraved on a silver tablet and sent by the hand of heralds to Ramses; what

corresponding memorandum the Hittite king accepted of his Egyptian brother does not appear.

Ramses was in the city of Pi-ramses in Lower Egypt on the 21st day of the first month of winter, in the twenty-first year of his reign. There, in his capacity of high-priest, he made offerings to the four chief gods of Egypt. The Pharaoh's presence at this place is doubtless explained by the intention of meeting half-way the embassy, which presently arrived, from the great—no longer called the vile—prince of the Cheta to “implore” peace. The negotiation was merely formal, since it consisted in accepting the tablet of silver from the heralds, and perhaps in tendering a similar guarantee to them in return. The text of the treaty was afterwards translated into the Egyptian language, and was inscribed on the wall of a Theban temple, the great hall which Ramses was rebuilding, together with an introductory narrative and a description of the figures on the tablet. This monument has gained extraordinary confirmation by the recovery on Hittite ground of a copy in the original language; and the double survival is a proof of the importance assigned to the treaty by both the parties.

The tablet was inscribed on both sides. On the front there appeared moreover the image of Sutech (or more probably Teshub, the chief god of the northern people), who was represented as embracing or upholding the Hittite chief. On the other side was seen the figure of the sun-god of Arana (a city of Armenia Minor, eastward of the Tonosa already named), who embraced or upheld Putuchipa, the great queen of the Hittites, the daughter of the land of Cazanadana, the queen of Arana. Around each picture was a legend intimating that the seal of the god in

question was inscribed within. We thus gain an interesting piece of information concerning the nature of the Hittite confederacy, and unexpected light on the civilisation of eastern Asia Minor, where a woman could bear supreme authority.

The rest of the tablet was covered with writing, of which the Egyptian scribe gives a faithful version. The names, the titles and the ancestry of the contracting parties first are expressed. Chattusar (brother, as appears lower, of the late Mautenel, who seems to have met a violent death, in consequence of which Chattusar succeeded to the throne), son of Maurasar and grandson of Sopalulu, makes a treaty with Ramses II, son of Sethos and grandson of Ramses I. It is uncertain if Chattusar (which may be rendered as Cheta-prince) is a proper name in the same sense as the others. The reputation of Egypt as a land of magic we already have noticed, and the discretion of the Alashian king may be recalled; for the dead such reticence was needless. We may remark that the Hittite prince names but two royal ancestors, and that Ramses could not count more; and the doubt remains whether Chattusar also represented a recent dynasty, or if his forbearance was prescribed by courtesy towards the Pharaoh.

The preface recalls the former treaties made by Sopalulu and Maurasar, probably with Armais and Sethos respectively, and the ancient friendship of the two nations. "But in his day Mautenel the great prince of the Hittites, my brother, made war on Ramses II the great king of Egypt. But behold, from to-day henceforth has Chattusar the great prince of the Hittites ordained an agreement to restore the relations which Ra and Sutech made between Egypt and

the land of the Hittites, that no enmity may be between them for ever." It is, moreover, expressly affirmed that the new alliance is better than the earlier one.

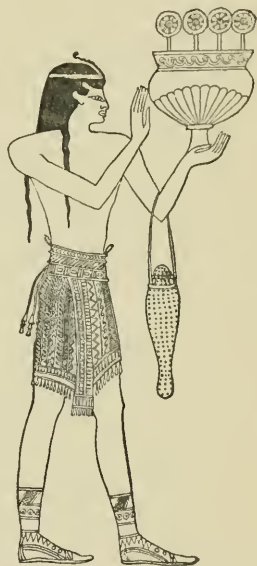
The terms of the covenant follow: there shall be peace and alliance between Chattusar and Ramses for all time, and this agreement shall bind their children's children:

"He is allied with me and is at peace with me, I am allied with him and am at peace with him"; like the kings, the lands also of Egypt and of the Hittites shall be allied and at peace for ever, no enmity shall be between them.

"The great prince of the Hittites shall never invade the land of Egypt to carry anything away thence; and the great king of Egypt shall never invade the land of the Hittites to carry anything away thence for ever."

It is, moreover, added that the former treaties of Sapalulu and Maurusar remain binding and will be fulfilled.

In the event of an enemy of either of the contracting parties invading his land, the other shall come to the rescue whenever required to do so; and if either monarch be unable or unwilling to come in person, he at least shall send his troops and chariots to smite the enemy. The same shall be done in the case of a rebellion by vassals of either party; and probably this clause is the pith of the



A HITTITE SOLDIER.

whole treaty, since it was by promoting disaffection in the Syrian tribes in bondage to the other that Egypt and the Hittites could most annoy one another, and hitherto actually had done so. That policy henceforth was renounced by both parties.

The remaining clauses are somewhat difficult to understand, and perhaps relate to special circumstances of the time, concerning which we know nothing. If any (political?) refugee from Egypt or from a state subject to Egypt shall seek refuge with the Hittite king, the latter shall not receive him, but shall deliver him to his master. Likewise, if one or two Egyptians of the people shall wander into Cheta-land to seek a new master, they shall be sent back. And, conversely, Hittite refugees and vagabonds shall not be received in Egypt. Thus originally the treaty was prepared; but after the formal conclusion had been added, it was found desirable to modify the provision regarding refugees, perhaps in the interest of some individuals who were to be extradited, or possibly to allay the scruples which in antiquity invested the suppliant with a religious character: "Against the man who shall be sent back to his master, no accusation of his crimes shall be made; his house, his wives or his children shall not be destroyed; himself shall not be slain, nor shall he be mutilated in his eyes, his ears, his mouth or his feet; in no wise shall he be punished." And this provision, like all the others, has equal force on both sides.

The treaty closes with a solemn oath; the thousand gods, male and female, of Cheta-land, the thousand gods, male and female, of Egypt are called to witness the treaty; and a list of Hittite gods is particularly named, in whose

keeping it is given. "These words which are on this silver tablet for the land of Cheta and the land of Egypt—whoso shall not keep them, him the thousand gods of the land of Cheta and the thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall afflict, together with his house, his land and his servants. But whoso shall keep these words, be he Hittite or be he Egyptian, and shall not neglect them, on him the thousand gods of the land of Cheta and the thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall bestow health and long life, together with his offspring, his land and his servants."

Really as well as formally, this important alliance made a radical change in the relations of the two powers. An age of peace and friendship was ushered in; it continued at least during the long reign of Ramses, possibly much longer. In Ramses' thirty-fourth year the treaty was confirmed by a state visit of the Hittite monarch to Egypt—an example seldom to be imitated in history, until our own days. The chief's eldest daughter, who accompanied him, was married to Ramses forthwith. What Mitannia had been to the Egypt of the eighteenth dynasty, the Hittite empire became to the Egypt of the nineteenth dynasty. It may indeed be questioned if the interest of Egypt was not served by the possession of a faithful ally in the north; this opened the fords of the Euphrates to trade, and conduced to the regular government, or exploitation, of those parts of Syria which were recognised as Egyptian. Doubtless between the earlier and the newer age a strong distinction was recognisable: the king of Mitannia, as we have seen, had played the part of a humble satellite to Amenophis; the Hittite prince assumed a footing of equality or superiority to Ramses, and shrewdly appreciated the decline of his

ally. On the other hand, Heth itself, as we shall have occasion to notice, early was smitten with the disease of Asiatic civilisations, and fell into decay.

A curious view of Syria as it was seen by Egyptian eyes in the reign of Ramses is preserved in a papyrus, the "travels of a mohar." A mohar appears to mean a hero, a brave, and is a word of Semitic derivation. The writing is a ridiculous account of a journey in Syria, or is rather the programme of an imaginary journey, by an Egyptian of romantic and credulous disposition; he meets with amazing adventures at every step, and by turns is entertained, mystified, defrauded, maltreated. This earlier Pyrgopolinices, or Quixote, is supposed to be an Egyptian officer in Syria who had sent his friend, the writer of the satire, an account of his actual adventures; the latter finds the narrative too tame, and shows how the thing ought to be done; a frigid concern for probability could only hamper such a composition.

"Thou sayest thou art a scribe and a mohar, and verily it is true. Come, and let us set forth. Thou hast examined thy team, thy horses are fleet as jackals, like to the hurricane. Thou graspest thy bow, thou takest the reins—and now we shall see what thine hand shall do; I will show thee how a mohar travels, I will relate all his exploits."

The underlying motive evidently is to disabuse readers of some common errors concerning life in Syria, and to ridicule the bombastic accounts of their adventures which travellers commonly gave; in this respect it forms a direct offset to the epic of Pentaur. The Syria of this period was invested with an atmosphere of wonder and romance, in the estimation of certain Egyptians. To be familiar with its

places and peoples was a distinction, to have travelled there was an inexhaustible source of boasting. The contrast which was found between the joyous and tumultuous life of Syria and the dull routine of life at home stimulated the imagination. The mere naming of towns and places, a bare itinerary, was inspiring.

“Thou comest to Cheta-land, thou seest the land of Ube. Chaduma and Igadai likewise, knowest thou the way thither? Thou drawest nigh to Kadesh and Tubichi, thou takest the way to Magar, where the heavens are dark at noonday and the land is overspread with oaks and cedars heaven-high. There also do lions and bears abound, the path is beset by robber Shasu. Wilt thou climb the mountain Shana? take firm hold of the chariot lest thou be jerked out!”

Warming as he proceeds, the writer exchanges the contingent style for a direct recital. The spurious mohar encamps for the night; at midnight he awakens to find himself alone and robbed. The explanation is, thieves had come and stolen his clothes while he slept; his groom or guide, roused by the noise and fearful of blame for complicity in the crime, or negligence in any case, has taken what was left and joined the robbers! The traveller visits the Phœnician havens from north to south—Gebal, Berytus, Sidon, Sarepta, Tyre. (Singularly enough, Arvad is not named.) The island Tyre is spoken of as “the city in the sea, to which drinking water is brought in boats, and she is richer in fishes than in sand.” The path is along the edge of a precipice; on one side is the mountain wall, on the other side is the abyss. Again, in emulation of Cadardi the prince of Esaru (evidently a famous champion), the mohar seeks the thickets where the young lions lurk; they

measure, some of them, eight feet from nose to heel, their eyes are fierce, their hearts are cruel, flattery soothes not their ear. He passes through fearful ravines, beset by rocks, obstructed by boulders; surrounded by dense underwoods, he can neither advance nor return; palpable fears begird him, his hair bristles, his courage oozes away.

He goes from misadventure to misadventure: "Thou comest to Joppa; there are pleasant orchards wherein are fruit-trees of every kind. The maiden who keeps the vineyard is fair; thee she doth choose for a companion; to thee her charms are yielded." These Capuan enticements are the undoing of the champion. A thief takes away his bow and his sword while he sleeps; his quiver and his armour are destroyed; his horses run away and his chariot is broken. So the unlucky adventurer concludes his journey with all the circumstances of comic misery.

Of historical interest is the implication of this singular document regarding the boundary of Hittite and Egyptian territory in Syria, a matter on which the treaty is silent. The mohar's dangers appear to lie in middle Syria, or Lebanon; when he reaches the plain of Sharon he is in familiar land, he is in Egypt in a manner. There is therefore some slight ground, at least, for the assumption that Carmel formed the mutual limit of the two empires, a conclusion which otherwise is indicated by the general conditions.

CHAPTER XV

MERENPTAH

IF the nineteenth dynasty failed to equal the exploits of the eighteenth dynasty abroad, it was more assuredly master at home. Ramses II carried out with ease the reform which had shipwrecked Chuenaten: the deliverance of throne and people from the sole tyranny of the Theban Ammon. The victory may be attributed in part to the moderation of Ramses' procedure, which was not complicated by innovations in doctrine or in religious customs. Nor does it appear that any inroad was made on the revenues or the honours of the southern deity; only he ceased to be the single god of the royal house, and was taught to range himself with Ptah, Ra, and the foreign Sutech as one of the supreme gods of the Egyptian empire, perhaps still as the primate among these. The affairs of Egypt as a whole, notwithstanding reverses in Syria, still threw the national centre of gravity considerably northward of Thebes. By the cautious policy of Ramses, that city became one of the capitals of the empire. The successor of Ramses is notably a servant of Ptah.

In close connection with this reform may be accounted the rise of the royal city of Pi-ramses in the north-eastern Delta, on the seashore. The city was adorned with noble

buildings, and peopled with colonists from other parts of Egypt, and here the Pharaoh often held court. The fruitful soil of the Delta invited cultivation, which only the prejudices of the ruling race had anciently withheld. Already in the reign of Chuenaten we have seen reason to think that it served as a granary for the hungry Syrians. But in the new age the development of the plain evidently occupied the direct attention of the Pharaoh, and probably much marshy land was reclaimed and settled. Where such a field for industry lay open, labour must have been summoned from every source, and there are indications that Libyan tribes were enticed or encouraged to settle here. Syrians, too, were allowed to wander in, if not in alarming numbers; if the tenure was harsher and more resembling servitude than the system of family inheritance customary at home, the settlers were compensated by the greater opulence of the land.

Testimony to the fertility of the soil is afforded by a papyrus, the letter of Panbesa, an Egyptian who visited Pi-ramses, and eloquently recounts his impressions for the benefit of untravelled southerners—perhaps not without the further view of stimulating colonisation. “Nothing on Theban soil can compare with it,” he says of the city; “the fields abound with good things; one lives here in continual plenty.” He specifies with lingering satisfaction its component luxuries—the fish of many species, the poultry, the corn, the fruit and the vegetables of various kinds, the flowers, the oil, the wine, the honey, the beer, the cider. “Sea-borne ships enter the harbour, bringing perpetual abundance; he rejoices who has settled here. . . . The maidens daily wear holiday attire, they anoint their curling

locks with fine perfumes; they stand in their doors, holding branches and flowers and garlands, on the day of the entering of king Ramses into the city."

From this age downward the Delta gained ever increasing importance in the economy and the politics of Egypt; but its exposed situation transformed the relation in which Egypt stood to the outer world; and it proved a perilous possession. Hitherto secluded and defended by deserts, the Pharaohs had stretched their hand abroad only when they were in force to do so, and seldom had to reckon with retaliation within their borders. Now Egypt presented a vulnerable front to the sea; and this happened precisely at the period which saw a mighty stirring of the western and the north-western world, until then quiescent and as dead. During the later years of Ramses' long reign the fatal rudiments of future troubles were admitted by the introduction of many Libyans in the Delta. The chief monumental inscription of the next reign seems to acknowledge that these tribes by ancient privilege had a right to encamp on Egyptian soil; probably they had pastured their flocks in the rich marshes long before the Pharaohs found these of value; "but no one knows [that they ever came in large numbers] like vermin." The offence lay in the abuse of the privilege. Possibly the Libyan tribes held that their claim to this debatable land was as good as Egypt's.

Ramses II reigned sixty-seven years; he died (probably) in 1234 B.C., and was succeeded by his thirteenth son MERENPTAH. The new monarch, who already was past the prime of life, seems to have been a man of firmness and energy; for the exercise of which qualities there was an ample field in the condition of public affairs. For it may

be affirmed with peculiar certainty of Egypt, that the nation rose and sank with the personal worth of its ruler; the long decrepitude of Ramses II (in striking contrast to his flourishing youth) was too clearly a time of stagnation and decay. In particular, the needs of national defence had been utterly neglected in a long peace, and the encroachments of the Libyan intruders were flagrant and unavenged.

In the fifth year of Merenptah matters came to a crisis, and a fierce storm broke over Egypt; it was composed in part of elements strange to the Egyptian experience, as far as the monuments assure us. It was, moreover, sudden, and the unprovided state of Egypt at the time is noteworthy. Former kings, says Merenptah (meaning unequivocally Ramses II), had paltered with the Libyan trouble and let the mischief accumulate. It was left for himself to deal decisively with the situation, and happily, as he intimates, he was capable of doing so; "he was crowned to preserve the life of mortals; he became king to protect men; he had strength to do this because he was the embodiment of the beautiful god Ptah."

Merenptah was in Memphis sacrificing in his capacity of high priest of Ptah when the tidings came that Mauroy, the Libyan chief, had begun laying waste the western Delta, and was advancing southward. With the Libyan host were joined as mercenaries or allies, bands of the Shirdani and the Lycians, both of whom we know already; to these were added new names, which, nevertheless, sound strangely familiar: the Acaiua-sha, the Turi-sha, the Shacal-sha, the Mashaua-sha. Here the common affix appears to be the inflexion of some forgotten language. The Shacal-sha are

with little doubt the Siculi of early Italian tradition, that vanished people who gave their name to Sicily, as the Shirdani to Sardinia. Of the others there is somewhat less assurance; yet we hardly can fail to associate the Turi-sha with the "mighty Tyrrhenes" of the poet Hesiod. The Mashaua-sha have been identified as the Maxyes mentioned by Herodotus, a people of north-western Africa, beyond the Garamantes and the Lotus-eaters. To compare the Acaiua-sha with the Achæans or Greeks, is perhaps precarious; rather must we regard the allies, if in any case Europeans, as members of that vanished society, preceding the Aryan immigration, which—probably at that very time—was shaken to its foundation by the descent of new nations into the peninsulas and the islands of southern Europe. It might be hazarded that the Acaiua-sha bequeathed their name to the first Aryan invaders of Greece. According to tradition the Achæans flourished before the rise of the Ionians or the Dorians; they probably represent the earliest wave of Aryan immigration in Greece. But the whole question of the origin and the composition of the Hellenic race is full of difficulty.

It was such a national crisis as for centuries had not visited Egypt. The defensive measures taken by Merenptah were prompt and to the purpose. Earthworks were cast round Memphis and Heliopolis, the two most important cities in the expected route of the invaders. The next step was to assemble the mercenary troops—Syrians, negroes and other strangers—who now formed the body of the Egyptian army; and together with these were summoned the chariots and the horsemen, that is, probably, the warriors of rank, native Egyptians. These forces were

massed with speed; "beautiful was the sight at the entering of the mercenaries to all the inhabitants of Egypt."

New messengers now reported the arrival of the enemy in the region of Prosopis, less than fifty miles from Memphis. The disquieting tidings found Merenptah prepared. He called a council and intimated his purposes; the oration,



A SHIRDANI MERCENARY.

as monumentally recorded, hardly reaches the urbane manner of earlier times, being mainly a tirade against the absent Mauroy. One sentence is highly interesting by the light it throws on the policy of that ruler, who was no mere barbarian. "Their king is a dog, a boaster without courage; he sits there devising a treaty with the people of the Piti-sha, whom I allow to take away wheat in ships to preserve the life of the people of Cheta." Who were the Piti-sha who conducted the sea-traffic of the home-keeping Hittites? evidently a people cognate to some of those who now

appeared in Mauroy's service, sea-rovers who inclined to lawful trade; not unwisely the Pharaoh dreaded the strain now put on their fidelity. The passage, too, illustrates one of the motives which may have contributed to establish peace between Egypt and Heth in the reign of Ramses II.

As Ammon had manifested himself to that king on the

battlefield, so also Ptah must appear to Merenptah; but in a manner less spirited: "Then his majesty saw in a dream, and behold the image of Ptah which is in the temple descended from his pedestal and spake with him." The god gave him a sword, and exhorted him to use it without sloth or sparing.

The Egyptian army marched out of Memphis and proceeded northward along the western arm of the Nile. There a strong position was occupied on the slope of the Libyan mountains, where the plain between the mountain and the river was narrow. The strategy devised by Merenptah was similar to that which had been practised by the Hittites at Kadesh; and hence we can gather how diligently the Pharaohs had conned that lesson.

Presently straggling bodies of the enemy came in view by the river's brink; these were suffered to pass onward into Egypt. Two days later the main Libyan army, conducted by Mauroy in person, defiled along the plain. When the enemy was directly below them, the Egyptian army descended from the heights and rushed to battle. Surprised and unprepared as they were, the invaders formed their ranks and stoutly contested the field. The battle was an Homeric *mêlée*, hand to hand, foot to foot, chariots and horsemen and footmen crowded together in the lust of carnage. For six hours the struggle was prolonged and the issue was dubious; it was undeniably a battle of nations, a day of crisis and decision. The deadly precision of the Egyptian archery finally told. At evening the Libyans gave way, broke in all directions and turned in flight; their monarch hasted away, his courage failed. Then the Egyptian horsemen who sat on their horses, the cavalry

proper, pursued the fliers and inflicted a great slaughter. A miserable remnant of the mighty host of invaders escaped beyond the western frontier of Egypt and returned homeward in mourning. Mauroy himself was of the number; and a lamentable picture is presented of his reception in his native land, a discredited and unsuccessful leader. His petition for peace and mercy, couched in sufficiently abject terms, was thereafter delivered through Pharaoh's officers on the Libyan border. The readiness with which it was granted gives us, notwithstanding the boastful strain of the inscription, a plain intimation of Egypt's weakness.

The description of the battle is followed by details of the numbers of prisoners and slain (on the Libyan side), and an inventory of the booty. Over eight thousand were killed and over nine thousand were taken prisoners. These numbers afford a distinct idea of the magnitude of the struggle. Fully nine-tenths of the whole were native Libyans; whence it seems a probable supposition that the other races, the Siculi, the Tyrrheni, the Shirdani, the Maxyes, the Achæi (if we may use these names), were simply mercenaries, soldiers of fortune who in bands of varying size sought service wherever trouble was afoot; just like those redoubtable companies of adventurers who came to swell the forces of the younger Cyrus in a later age. Of spoil taken in the field, besides cattle and goats, an immense number of bronze swords and other weapons are counted, with armour, vases, bowls, vessels and ornaments in silver and bronze—a passing glimpse of that early Mediterranean civilisation which vanished before the dawn of history leaving no monument or tradition, but of which vestiges have been uncovered in recent years.

Merenptah's first proceeding, after this glorious victory, was to disband the mercenaries by whom it had been won. The motive of such haste may be shrewdly guessed; the hireling soldiery of antiquity was an uncertain and terrible weapon which sometimes wounded the hand that wielded it. Remote from his gods and the laws of home, bound only by his military religion, the mercenary held himself subject to no restraint among a stranger people. In idleness he was prone to despoil his entertainer; and for such guests the industrious peasantry of Egypt were a tempting and unresisting prey.

No other event in Merenptah's reign is recorded with the same fulness as this war of his fifth year; and although it was unconnected with Syrian history, which momentarily retires from view, it was the prelude to a great invasion of Egypt in the reign of Ramses III, when African, European and Asiatic invaders descended on the Delta. A hymn of triumph, moreover, which Merenptah set up in stone to commemorate the deliverance, brings us, in a postscript, unexpectedly in contact with Syrian affairs. The poet, after describing the degradation of Mauroy and the happy state of Egypt, delivered of a plague too long familiar, proceeds to tell of victories of which we have no account elsewhere, and says:

"The princes have been brought down to the dust, they cry out shalom (peace, in the language of Canaan). Among the stranger peoples none lifts up his head; wasted is Libya, Cheta-land is quieted. All the rebels of Canaan have been overcome; Ascalon is carried away captive, Gezer is overthrown, vanquished is Inuamu, the people of Israel is laid waste, without corn; Charu (Palestine) is

become as a widow by Egypt. All lands together are reduced to peace; all the nations around have been afflicted by the hand of Merenptah."

The difficulty of reconciling this, the earliest monumental reference to Israel, with the scriptural narrative is not lessened by the report of a papyrus, dated in the eighth year of the same king, indicating conditions which curiously recall the story of the book of Exodus. The writer seems to be an officer appointed to watch the north-eastern frontier; in this capacity he intimates to the court the satisfactory fulfilment of a transaction which may have been an instance of many that are unrecorded.

"Another matter to satisfy my master's heart. We have conducted the passage of the Shasu tribes from Aduma (Etham) through the fortress of Merenptah which is in Thuku (Succoth), that they may feed themselves and their herds on the lands of the king, who is there a life-giving sun for all peoples. In the year eight (on such a date) I caused them to be conducted, according to the list of names of those for whose passage the fortress of Merenptah is opened."

It is plain that these Asiatics were entering Egypt by treaty and according to a definite scheme of settlement. It was probably felt that a deposit of Syrians in the Delta would serve as a bulwark against invasion from the sea and from the north-east, and as a counterpoise to the Libyans on the north-west, who, heedless of their recent disaster, continued irrepressible and uninvited guests. We can realise that the Syrian colonists found in the Delta a wealth and a plenty unknown to their native land; but that the conditions were oppressive and irksome, approach-

ing servitude, though possibly less so than those of the home-born Egyptian peasantry. We can conceive, too, that any body of settlers who after a surfeit of such enjoyments regretted the hardy freedom of the desert would find considerable difficulty in retracing the journey.

There is another report, dated in Merenptah's third year, being a kind of diary of entries and departures of travellers, messengers, merchants, wayfarers of every description between Egypt and Asia. We learn that in this age a constant exchange of traffic subsisted, just as in the period of which the Amarna archives have yielded such interesting views.

For the remaining years of Merenptah's reign (which possibly lasted twenty years) we have no information. The very poverty of monumental remains betokens a time of depression; victories were celebrated in eternal sculptures, but reverses were passed over in silence, and slow decay afforded no material for commemoration. As remarked above, Egypt had not seen the last of the Libyans, who quietly resumed their interrupted occupation of the Delta. In the dissensions which arose in Egypt after the death of Merenptah's successor, they tightened their hold on the land. Meanwhile also Asiatic tribes flowed in, and increased more rapidly than was consistent with Egyptian policy. They became a dangerous power in Lower Egypt, where ultimately, as we shall find reason to think, they made themselves masters for a time, and retorted the long oppression which their fathers had suffered.

Merenptah died in (probably) 1214 B.C., and was succeeded by his only known son, SETI II. The nineteenth dynasty, which had not fulfilled half the period of

the eighteenth, was now hastening to its downfall; not by the extinction of the royal house, but through civil strife. Without specific evidence, the cause of this unhappy issue can only be guessed. It may be hazarded that the decentralising policy of the Pharaohs, in conflict with the exclusive pretension of Thebes and Ammon to the political and the religious primacy, had to do with the matter. As we have noticed, Ramses II had succeeded by his ascendancy and moderation in carrying that reform, so necessary for a great kingdom. But the jealousy of the southern capital was only lulled for a time. While Merenptah reigned, it may be supposed that disaffection, if any existed, was decently veiled; yet we must observe that this king, as far as the monuments illustrate his history, was associated with Lower Egypt even more closely than his predecessor. Even under Sethos II there appears no evidence of any breach; but nothing is known of his reign, which seems to have lasted only five years. The reconstruction of the following period, to the end of the nineteenth dynasty, is conjectural. Sethos II appears to have left a daughter and three sons. After his death these four engaged in struggles for the throne; or perhaps they were but the passive symbols of political parties; singly or in combination, during seven troublous years, they held and disputed power. The princess THUORIS, the hope and the channel of legitimacy, had been raised to the throne as regent during the life of her father, and was the recognised successor. But female rule, although conformable to the Egyptian law of succession, does not seem to have commended itself in practice; and when Sethos died the heiress was dethroned by her brother or half-brother AMENMESES. The latter

reigned only one year; after his death Thuoris returned to the throne and retained it for five years, her position being established by marriage with her brother Siptah. A third brother, Setnacht, lastly succeeded, perhaps by deposing Thuoris and Siptah; he reigned only a year, and left as successor his son, the distinguished RAMSES III in whom the glory of the ancient Pharaohs was again to shine forth.

The annals of Ramses III afford a retrospective view of the unsettled times preceding the accession of his father, whom he celebrates as a restorer of public order: "The land of Egypt was brought low; the prosperity of former years had passed away. The people of Egypt were without a protector and without a guide. The kingdom was divided between princes; they slew one another, both noble and mean. Afterwards the times were more evil; in years of famine arose Arisu, a Syrian, as a ruler over them, and compelled all the land to pay him tribute. Joining many companions with himself, he despoiled all who had gathered riches. In like manner as the people, the gods were treated; the appointed offerings in the temples were neglected and withheld."

Whether Arisu the Syrian was a captain of mercenaries, an invader, or a chief of the Delta colonists, is not clear; the mention of famine points to the last possibility, and the mastership of a fertile area like the Delta must have given immense power to a resolute insurgent. But such an upheaval was possible only in the weakness of Egypt by internal strife, and in no case could have continued long.

According to the theory sketched above, Siptah and his

sister-wife Thuoris were favourers of the Theban pretensions. Their remains are associated with Upper Egypt, and their supporters were worshippers of Ammon. Thus the triumph of Setnacht and Ramses III was a blow to that narrow monotheism, and firmly established the secular policy of the Pharaohs.

Ramses III ascribes to his father and to the gods the restoration of peace and law in Egypt:

“Then did the gods bring back prosperity; they restored authority and justice in the land. And they established their son, who had come forth from their flesh, as king of the whole land on their exalted throne. This was king Setnacht. He was like Sutech in his might; he stilled the rebels, he cut off the unclean that were in the land of Egypt. He purified the exalted throne of Egypt, and so he became ruler of the united land, to which he brought back its might. Such as refused to acknowledge any one as a brother (?) were walled up (perhaps a dark hint at the doom of Siptah and Thuoris, but the interpretation is exceedingly doubtful). He restored the services in the temples, and granted the due revenues of the gods, according as their statutes require. Lastly, me also (Ramses III) he raised up as heir on the throne, with dominion over the whole land, now again united together. And he went to his rest in his horizon like the gods; the rites of Osiris were accomplished for him; he was borne on the river in his royal boat, and was laid in his everlasting house in the west of Thebes.”

Of his own accession Ramses then adds: “And my father Ammon, the lord of the gods, and Ra and the fair-faced Ptah caused me to be crowned as lord of the

land on the throne of my father. Amidst shouts of joy I received his dignities; because of the peace the people were content and glad."

With Ramses III a new dynasty was enrolled, and the mystic rite by which Amosis and Ramses I had been consecrated was renewed; not that the royal race was exhausted, but possibly because the succession was vitiated by the simple fact of having been disputed; or perhaps because other claimants were alive. The nineteenth dynasty, in a century and a quarter, had seen a steady decline in the power of Egypt; in a shorter term of existence the twentieth was to see a still more grievous wasting.

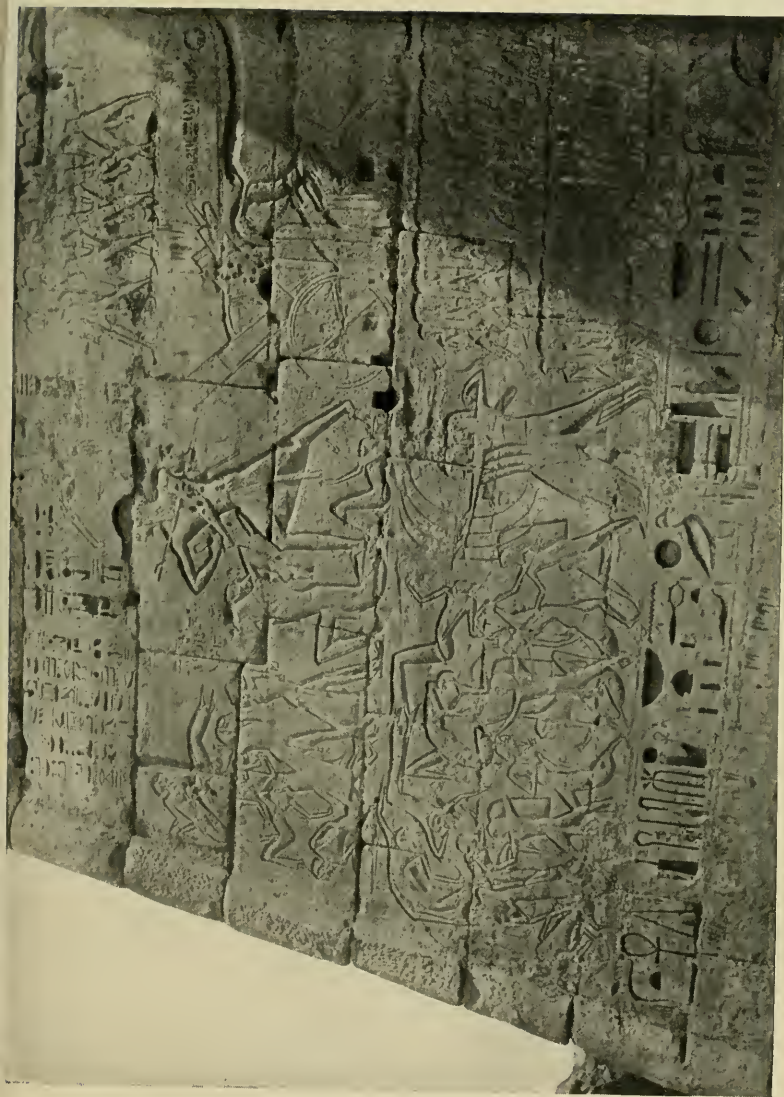
CHAPTER XVI

RAMSES III AND THE ÆGEAN PEOPLES

THE restorations effected by Setnacht and Ramses III put Egypt in a condition to withstand the foreign enemies who for years had preyed on her weakness, and to prepare for others more terrible who were to come. During the years of inner strife, the Delta was overrun by both Libyans and Asiatics. A situation was created similar to that which had issued in the war of Merenptah's fifth year.

"The hostile Shasu and the Libyan robbers appeared to afflict the state of Egypt. Since the time of the earlier kings the land lay before them in its weakness. They wrought evil to the gods and to men, and no arm had been found with strength to resist them."

In what manner the Asiatics were repelled we know not. It was not till his fifth year that Ramses found himself in force to oppose the western sojourners: "The Libyans and the Mashaua-sha were seated in Egypt; they occupied all the cities on the western side of the great river, from Memphis to the seashore; they were in Egypt many years." That occupation was tacitly recognised; only on the occasion of an inroad south of the Delta did the Pharaoh offer resistance: "The people of the Tamahu



Piromali.

MEDINET HABU.

Ramses III. taking the Chiefs of the Libyans Captive.

assembled themselves together, with the Lebu, the Sapadu, the Mashaua-sha and the Bureru ; they prepared themselves to march into Egypt, and their chiefs devised crafty plots against us."

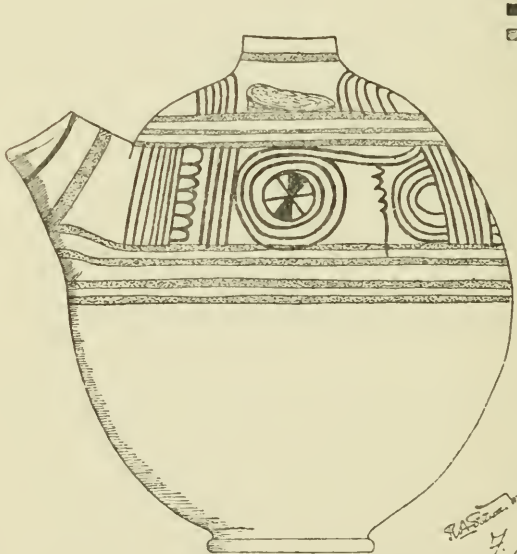
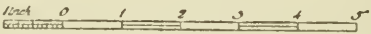
To these strange names were added the Shaytep, the Hasa, the Bacana, tribes unknown to history. The invaders travelled with their wives and children ; they were rather a migrating people than a raiding host. It is regrettable that few details of this war have been preserved ; although closely corresponding to the war of Merenptah's fifth year, it had distinctive features of some interest, especially in respect to the composition of the invading army. We learn that Ramses inflicted a crushing defeat on the foe, slaying a vast number of warriors, taking many captives, and appropriating hundreds of thousands of cattle.

In clearer light stands the war of Ramses' eighth year ; and this was certainly one of the most memorable passages in Pharaonic history. Some remarks on the early civilisation of the Mediterranean world here seem to be called for. Already since the time of Napchuria we have met occasional traces of the island nations, and these have become more salient in the fifth year of Merenptah and in the fifth year of Ramses III. Now these races rise up, fervid, tumultuous, overflowing, and we divine that mighty disturbing forces are in play beyond the great waters.

Recent excavations in Crete and elsewhere in the Ægean basin have revealed the remains of a forgotten civilisation contemporary with the earlier dynasties of Egypt, and surviving down to the period we have now reached. An interval of twilight and a radical change of culture clearly distinguishes that civilisation from the



PROJECTION OF ORNAMENT



T Sufz

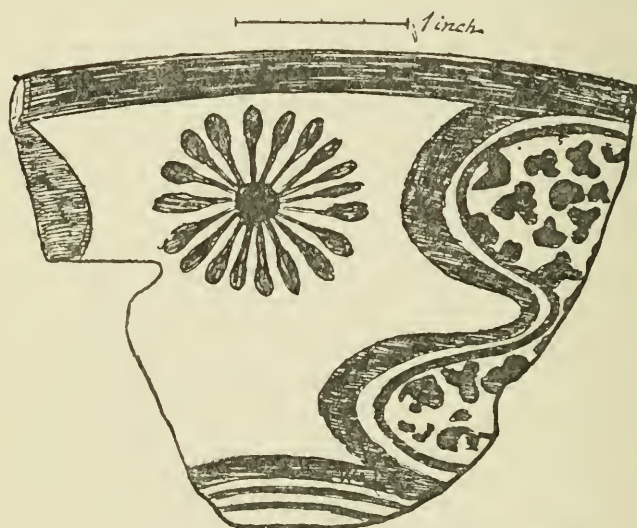
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Found at Tell el-Fel
by J. Blair

[Palestine Exploration Fund.
 PALESTINIAN POTTERY: PRE-ISRAELITE PERIOD.

splendour of classical Greece ; it can be associated only with an older people which flourished before the coming of the Aryan conquerors. The traditions of Greece and Italy bear witness to this earlier population, sometimes called Pelasgians. Troy, Phrygia, Sardis, stood evidently on a higher level of culture than their first Hellenic neighbours. The marvels of Cretan mechanism and art inspired the Greek poets with simple wonder ; traditions recalled a time when Attica and other parts of Greece were tributary to a Cretan sea-power. Not improbably the Etruscan confederacy was a survival through historical ages of that early race and its culture. It is acknowledged that the Romans borrowed very much of their civilisation from the Etruscans, or from some like people among whom they settled. So we have ground to believe that the primitive Greek invaders of the *Ægean* area became the disciples of the older people whom they found there ; and this theory will best explain the comparative superiority of the insular and the peninsular Aryans over their cousins who remained behind in central Europe. In descending to the Mediterranean Sea the invaders found the *Ægean* civilisation in full bloom ; their coming blighted it, their conquests uprooted it ; but its decay formed the soil whence in due time they were to develop a nobler culture. By the evidence now available, such a general conclusion seems to be fairly warranted.

By this light, too, it is allowable to think that some of the early legends of Greece, as the deliverance and the consolidation of Attica by Theseus, and the confederacy of all Hellas against Ilion under the leadership of Agamemnon, were no fables. The latter event especially stands out as an historical passage of high importance. On this

subject the judgment of the early historians, Herodotus and Thucydides, deserves respect; and they did not hesitate to recognise in the Trojan war the first great exploit of a united Hellenic race. Thereby Greece won a name among the nations. That war was almost the sole undertaking in which it is recorded that all Hellas took part; it may even be said that if all traditions of it had



[*Palestine Exploration Fund.*
CRETAN POTTERY.]

expired, some such event would be required to explain the strong sense of Hellenic nationality which is inwoven in the consciousness of the race. It is insufficient to explain that an accidental and undue celebrity has been conferred on the tale of Troy by the preservation of the Homeric poems. On the contrary, the *Iliad* and the *Odysey* appear to be but fragments of a great lost literature; and that literature itself is most adequately

accounted for by the stimulation of a successful war. Not again did the Greek states stand back to back till the life and death struggle with Persia. The literary blossom which followed the Trojan war rightly may be compared to the literary blossom which followed the Persian war. In both cases the national vanity of the Greeks, intensely stirred by victory over a renowned and redoubtable foe, sought utterance in works of art and genius. The earlier literature was even superior in some respects to the later; it was purely poetical, and what survives of it holds the sovereign place in literature. The long interval of silence which separates the Homeric age from the age of Herodotus and Æschylus does but relieve the brightness, although it has obscured the historical setting, of the former.

The immigration of the Aryan races, first hinted by a brilliant theory of philology, may be considered to rest on somewhat firmer ground; and some of the later movements emerge in the light of history. But as a whole this great movement remains vague and unreal, scarcely impressing the mind as an actual occurrence; and that chiefly perhaps because, being undated, it has never been brought into correspondence with other historical facts. But the materials now available, and especially the discoveries in Crete, invite us to take a more precise view. There is ground to think that the descent of the Hellenes into the coasts and the islands of the Ægean was now, in the reign of Ramses III, a recent event. Thus is explained the ferment of the sea-peoples. The Mediterranean world had not yet recovered its equilibrium. Ousted from the isles and the coast-lands, the Ægean peoples descended on the shores of Syria, Egypt, and Africa seeking new places of settlement.

It is uncertain whether or not any of the Aryan tribes joined in these expeditions. The occurrence in the Egyptian monuments of names which may be read Achæi and Danai is not conclusive, since these may have belonged originally to the earlier races which afterwards entered into alliance with the northern invaders, and gave their name to the union. There is certainly much ground to believe that



A PHILISTINE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY B.C. (AFTER C. J. BALL).

the Greek race, as fully developed, was a compound in which the older race was strongly represented. This point has been touched on in the preceding chapter.

"It came to pass," the Egyptian record says, "that the people of the northern region, who dwell in their isles and in their coasts, were in commotion." This remark recurs several times, showing that a profound

impression was created by the fact, so menacing to the safety of Egypt.

A new invader had appeared in Syria, a people now first mentioned, but destined to give a name for all future ages to a division of that land. The Pulosatha and the Zaccala (or Zaccara) seem to have been closely allied peoples; they invariably appear in conjunction, and the latter seem ultimately to have been merged in the former, who are no other than the Philistines. In the reign of Ramses III these were a more considerable body than they afterwards appeared in

the reigns of Saul and David, and not less aggressive and enterprising. Their place of origin is unknown. The Zaccara have been equated with the Teneri, a classical synonym for the Trojans. Their confederacy with the sea-peoples indicates that they were of a kindred stock. But unlike these allies, they already had won a footing in Syria; whether in that part of the maritime plain where they afterwards resided, or somewhere farther north.

The project undertaken by the Philistines in conjunction with the sea-peoples was an extraordinary one, and would be incredible were it attested by evidence less weighty than that of contemporary monuments. "They leagued themselves together to encircle the land of Egypt. Their hearts were full of daring, they were full of devices." Their plan was a simultaneous attack on the Delta by sea and land. But that such an invasion could not be prepared without delay, and therefore without giving ample notice to the Pharaoh, the consequence might have been revolutionary for Egypt.

The Pulosatha and the Zaccala formed the strength of the attack by land; with them came many bands of Hittite, Amorite and Phoenician adventurers. "They encamped in the midst of the land of the Amorites; they wasted these countries; they swept away the inhabitants and made the land desolate. Then they came on hither; but in Egypt there was prepared for them a fiery furnace." No specific account of the reception that waited them in Egypt has been preserved. We gather that they were defeated and repelled. "Ammon pursued them and annihilated them," says an inscription. An artist represents them in groups of prisoners; others are escaping in ox-waggons. Perhaps the

victory was a doubtful and costly one ; no indication of the locality of the battle is given. The subsequent settlement of the Philistines and the Zaccala on the coast of Canaan, a region immemorially the territory of Egypt, but which they occupied without acknowledging any supremacy in Egypt, greatly diminishes the weight of Ramses' victory.

The marine battle is more fully described. The invaders were the Shacal-sha, the Daanau and the Uasha-sha ; probably the Turi-sha and the Shirdani, who are named also, formed part of the expedition. But that a poet has been lacking, the enterprise was not altogether unlike the campaign against Troy. It is likely that all the peoples mentioned were known to the Egyptians. Some of them we have seen as mercenary bands in the service of the Libyan king ; it may be taken that the reports of the returning adventurers had not failed to disclose the weakness and the wealth of Egypt, inciting new attempts.

Having outfitted on the Canaanite coast, at Acco or Joppa perhaps, the ships seem to have advanced on Egypt abreast of the land forces. The rumour of their coming preceded them, and Ramses had time to make his dispositions. "An ambush was prepared to take them in the snare like birds," says the Pharaoh. A barricade of ships and boats stoutly lashed together was built across the mouth of the Nile. This is one possible interpretation of the text. Breasted, the most recent historian of Egypt, places the scene of the marine battle at one of the northern harbours on the coast of Phœnicia. The barricade was densely manned with the boldest warriors ; the rest of the Egyptian army lined the seashore. Thus the enemy was awaited.



Pyramide.

MEDINET HABU.
Prisoners of Ramses III.

The hostile ships, says the inscription, entered into the lakes at the mouth of the Nile (or other inlet). "Those who had assembled against us on the great sea, a mighty firebrand lightened before them, in front of the river; a wall of iron shut them in upon the lake." More eloquent than the inscription is the sculptured scene, representing the battle of the ships in full progress, the vessels interlaced, the opposing warriors engaged in hand-to-hand conflict, the sea swollen with corpses. One remarks how effectively the artist has characterised the sea-peoples. Their retreating forehead and cruel, pugnacious expression are precisely those of the Philistines who appear in the same series of sculptures. Identical, too, is the singular head-dress, recalling the horse-hair crest, the *lophos hippiochaïtes* of Hector. The issue of the battle was a complete victory for Egypt. The invaders were driven away, dashed to the ground, hewn down on the shore of the lake; their slain lay in hundreds of heaps; their ships and their possessions were strewn on the coast. The simplicity with which ancient vessels, especially those of the type shown in the sculpture, could be beached, made the battle at once a marine and a land one. With an exaggeration that discredits the whole narrative, the Pharaoh says that hundreds of thousands of prisoners were taken; these were fettered and enclosed in a fortress. "I compelled them all to bear tribute of cloth and corn yearly"; what this may mean it is hard to say, unless that the embarrassing guests easily won their freedom by an illusive promise of contributions.

"Thus have I subdued the desire of the nations to direct their faces against Egypt. Now do they magnify my name in their islands; yea, their hearts are troubled

because of me, as long as I shall sit on the throne of Harmachis."

Three years after this deliverance, Egypt was invaded from the west by the Mashaua-sha, the Tehennu, the Lebu and the Sepadu; these were driven back, followed into their own dominions, and severely chastised. It is remarkable that in this war none of the tribes that can be distinguished as European are mentioned.

Ramses III reigned thirty-two years, and died in 1170 B.C. That the victories of his earlier years operated a revival in the state of Egypt cannot be doubted. Syria, which had thrown off the Pharaonic supremacy, was again visited and spoiled of men and cattle; but a single expedition, in the changed face of things, was not enough to restore the old empire. From a papyrus recounting the benefactions of Ramses III we learn that he built a temple to Ammon in Phoenicia, and that he, moreover, endowed the great Theban priesthood with the tribute of many Syrian towns. The precise measure of control implied in these facts is a matter of doubt.

CHAPTER XVII

UNUAMEN

WERE it possible from the hints and the fragments that have reached us to restore a genuine history of the thirteenth and the twelfth centuries B.C., the narration would be one of intense interest. Around the Mediterranean Sea transformations were effected on a grand scale; it was an age of overthrowing and rebuilding. Then was displayed by startling instances the process, continuous but often imperceptible in history, of the waste and the renewal of races, the hunger and the prodigality of time. New nations were rushing into the isles of Europe, new nations were overrunning Syria and Canaan. The dreary forests of Germany, the secret recesses of Asia, were disgorging their unknown dwellers on the south. An unwonted stir was felt in Asia Minor and along the coast of northern Africa, not then obscure and isolated lands. The senile nations, apprised that their hour had come, withdrew from the eager rivalry of the invaders and sank into swifter decay. Naturally the history of this age never can be written. The decadent peoples raised few memorials of their failures and lapses; the younger races, although they early acquired the art of writing, preserved no chronicles of their heroic age; what traditions of that time survived became

undistinguishable from fable before they received a fixed form.

The weakness and the decrepitude of Egypt is attested by the silence of the monuments, so blatant in recording victories. The little that can be told of the immediate successors of Ramses III has been pieced from trifling and uncertain indications. Nine kings, perhaps not so many, reigned successively and assumed the name of Ramses. To none of this series are any acts of importance ascribed. On the contrary, the existing documents of the time witness only a prevalence of abuses and an unhappy lowering of official integrity. Under the fourth Ramses it appears that tribute was still paid by the Retennu and the Amu in his second year; but that instance, whatever weight may be given it, was perhaps the last of its kind until the lapse of many generations. One of the most noteworthy incidents of this period was the marriage of the chief of the Theban priesthood with a royal princess. A family was thus founded possessing a certain claim to the throne. In the imbecility and failure of the reigning house, the collateral priestly family engrossed the real power of government. When, finally, the line of the Ramses was exhausted, this spiritual palace-mayor, who actually stood in the line of succession, inaugurated at Thebes the twenty-first dynasty.

The accession of Herhor was not admitted in Lower Egypt, where the honour of Ptah and the other ancient gods by no means yielded to the supremacy of Ammon. Of civil war there is no hint. An accommodation, probably peaceably attained, was subscribed; for the first time since the expulsion of the Hycsos, and after five hundred years of united government, Egypt was split into two kingdoms.

So issued that long antagonism which from time to time we have seen disturbing the peace of Egypt. The ruler of Memphis, equally with the ruler of Thebes, owed his rank to marriage; his wife Tentamen being apparently a royal princess. It seems probable that the Theban king was recognised, at least nominally, as overlord of the whole land. That recognition was not inconsistent with the practical independence and in some respects the superiority of the northern kingdom.

A curious picture of the age of Herhor is afforded by a papyrus recounting the adventures of a Theban traveller on the coast of Canaan. The motive and sense of the writing are far from clear, and it is altogether as singular a document as any piece of Egyptian literature; our ignorance forbids us too hastily to suspect the probability of some details, and the descriptive traits may be disentangled from the tissue of incidents.

Unuamen, the hero of the memorial, was a Theban whom the Pharaoh commissioned to proceed to the Phœnician coast to purchase timber for rebuilding the sacred bark of Ammon. Three centuries had passed since the great intercourse of Amenophis III with Syria, two centuries since the renewed conquests of Ramses II, nearly a century since the sway of Ramses III still was owned in Canaan. To the new generation that had arisen the old relations of Thebes and Syria was unknown. The seacoast of Palestine, indeed, was occupied by a race whose fathers never had paid tribute to Pharaoh. Egypt and Syria were levelled by a common decay, which, moreover, reduced by half the traffic that formerly had plied between them. For the Syrians of this age the Delta was Egypt, the Memphian

or Tanitic ruler was Pharaoh. Thebes might profess to be the religious capital, and even might be accepted throughout Egypt in that quality; it possessed no sea-going ships, and therefore was of no account in the north.

Unuamen descended the Nile and presented his credentials to Smendes, the Tanitic contemporary of Herhor; from him he obtained a ship and sailors for the voyage. This prince and his wife Tentamen are called "the vassals (or the worshippers) whom Ammon has put in the north of his land."

Unuamen proceeded on his voyage and halted at Dir (Dor, on the coast of Sharon?), a town of Zacar (the Zaccala?). Here an unhappy incident occurred; a sailor deserted and stole part (if not all) of the money destined for timber. This demoralised the affair; in the weak hope of seeing the thief or of recovering the spoil, Unuamen lingered in the region; and his perseverance rendered him unpopular with the natives. The truculent natives were void of reverence for the Egyptian name, and apparently construed the envoy's delay in an unfriendly sense. There is a gap in the text, but he seems to have continued his voyage without having obtained redress; and proceeded to Gebal, his final destination. Without money or credit, the unlucky traveller found a chilling reception in that old seat of Egyptian influence, and failed to gain attention to his business. Towards autumn—he had arrived in spring—after he had made fruitless attempts to get a cargo without warrant, a dancing prophet voiced the public sentiment in a sacred ecstacy, by declaring that the stranger must be sent away. The unhappy Unuamen then lost

heart and sought to board a ship returning to Egypt. But the wily chief dreaded the complications that might ensue on a quarrel with Egypt, and at the last moment had the wanderer arrested and brought into his presence.

The petty ruler of Gebal affected all the state of a sovereign prince, which he actually was. His conversation with the Egyptian is extremely interesting, although the interview may not be quite truthfully reported. The pitfalls which he prepares for the stranger, and the wariness of the latter in avoiding them, are recorded with animation. The chief was dissatisfied with Unuamen's credentials; Smendes he knew and respected, of the lord of Upper Egypt he knew little. The pretensions of Ammon as an imperial or universal god filled him with disdain, not unmingled with uneasiness. His indecision gave Unuamen an opening to renew the demand for timber. The traveller recalled the old dominion of Egypt over Canaan: "Do thou even as thy father did, and thy father's father." The chief formally repelled the implication: "What my fathers did I will do," he said, "but if I give you timber, Pharaoh must send much merchandise of Egypt in exchange." The archives of his fathers were consulted as to what they actually had done, and it appeared that in former times the Pharaohs had sent money for Syrian produce; thence the chief argued that no overlordship ever had existed: "Were the prince of Egypt master and were I his servant, then would he not send silver or gold for the business of Ammon. But I am not the servant of your master."

Regarding the omnipotence of Ammon, the chief proposed a rather startling test: he would give the Egyptian the timber he required, then would turn him adrift in a

wholly unseaworthy craft; "then if Ammon truly is almighty, he will chain Sutech the storm-god (the god of Syria) and will deliver you; so shall it be known that he is master in all lands and in the sea." The Egyptian's answer is noteworthy as illustrative of a conception common in antiquity, that the claim of a national god to worship was coextensive with the nation's claim to rule: "There is on the sea no ship that is not Ammon's; the sea is his and the cedars also, concerning which you say: They are mine. He prepares a place to grow the wood for his saered bark, and for every tree." The argument, that the Pharaohs having sent presents and money to the Syrians was an admission of their independence, Unuamen rebutted without, perhaps, quite comprehending the conditions of the intercourse in question: "If silver and gold sufficed for life and health, truly the former Pharaohs of whom you speak would not have needed to send them hither; but when your fathers sent wood to Egypt, it was because they sought life and health!" In other words, the buyer is generally the master of the situation. The chief, who seems to have wanted only to make as good a bargain as possible, finally consented to send a messenger to Smendes, who advanced on the credit of Herhor a supply of "cargo" to pay the timber required. The messenger returned with incredible haste; but more time was to be lost in felling the trees and dragged them to the shore—it is well known that timber can be cut only in mid-winter. In the following spring, when all was ready for the return voyage to Thebes, a fleet of pirates, ships of Zacar, entered the port. The relation of these visitors to the Zacar or Zaccala already named is far from clear. Although at peace with the

natives, they found a lawful prize in the Egyptian stranger. Perhaps the inhospitality already shown to the traveller at Dor served in their eyes to warrant renewed enmity. The tribulations of the unhappy traveller were only beginning. Respect for the sanctity of a guest had some weight with the chief, but he was powerless against the freebooters; nevertheless he imagined a somewhat cold-blooded evasion which relieved him of immediate blame: "Let no evil be done in my land to Ammon's messenger," he said to the rovers, "but let me dismiss him in peace; then shall you follow after and overtake him."

With unusual luck, perhaps by taking an indirect route, Unuamen eluded his pursuers. Stormy weather cast him on the coast of Alashia, where a woman bore sway; here again he was treated with savage incivility; the populace prepared to slay or sacrifice their guest. We are rather forcibly impressed by the changes which had supervened in conditions, and perhaps in manners and race, since the great days of the eighteenth dynasty. Luckily for Unuamen, the queen interrupted these barbarous proceedings. An interpreter was found; the Egyptian explained the situation, and by his eloquence saved not only his own life but also the lives of the Syrian seamen.

It may have been at this very time that the early Assyrian conqueror, Tiglath-pileser I, came to the Mediterranean Sea and held his court in Arvad. Never before had the people of the Tigris advanced so far in conquest. That power had been held in check by a danger nearer home. Since the times of the Amarna letters, when, as we have seen, the asserted independence of Assyria was jealously watched by the Babylonian kings, little progress had been

made by either party. In the strife of two nations identical in race and culture, no innate quality gave a permanent advantage to one side or the other, and the rivalry was endless and fluctuating. More than once the northern state had shaken off the control of the old metropolis, only again to submit in a recurring period of weakness; as a retrospective glance over their relations since the Amarna period will make clear.

About 1300 B.C., that is, when Ramses II reigned in Egypt, Assyria had waxed strong; had defeated a combination of the Chatti or Hittites, the Achlami or Aramean nomads, and the eastern remains of the old Mitannian empire; and had carried its arms westward to the Euphrates. This happened in the reign of Shalmaneser I; the dominion thus acquired seems to have been sustained and extended by his immediate successor Tukulti-ninib I, who, moreover, reduced Babylon itself, then a prey to inroads of the mountaineers of Elam, under his authority. But before the death of this ruler a change had supervened. He was besieged in his palace by his own son, and slain. Thereafter a long interval of depression ensued.

A century later—contemporaneously with Ramses III in Egypt—the king of Babylon had stood as referee between two rival claimants to the Assyrian throne, and the prince of his choice had become his vassal. It would seem that the lack of a dynasty possessing assured and religious credit, as in Egypt, was an abiding cause of trouble in Assyria. The subordination to Babylon did not last long. By the middle of the twelfth century, Babylonia again was overrun by Elamites, the Cassite

dynasty came to an end, the authority of the ancient capital was crippled, and Assyria reasserted its independence.

Another interval of fifty years saw the supremacy of Assyria, after two centuries of weakness, restored. That eminence was not won over Babylon, which still held its own in a variable and intermittent warfare. It is remarkable that Nebuchadrezzar I, a Babylonian king of the native dynasty which succeeded the Cassite line, calls himself conqueror of the Amurri. This monarch reigned early in the eleventh century, at the same time as the twenty-first dynasties in Egypt. No material exists to explain or justify his assumption of such a title. The contemporary western expedition of Tiglath-pileser I, more luckily is illustrated by monumental evidence. The latter king and his predecessor Assur-resh-ishi found employment for their arms in the north and the west. The Moschi, a people closely related to the Hittites—as may be deduced from the names of their rulers Ciliteshub, Caliteshub, Saditeshub, Chattisar—were now pouring into Mesopotamia from the north, and already had occupied territory which once had been subdued by Assyria. At the same time the Achlami or Arameans were drifting northward. The two opposite streams of humanity were equally noxious to both Assyria and Babylonia, and afforded an exterior occupation for their arms, but did not occasion a surcease of their mutual enmity. Assur-resh-ishi dispersed the Achlami and reduced the Lulumi and the Cuthi. The inscription of Tiglath-pileser I recounts his campaigns year by year for the first six years of his reign. He repelled the

Moschi and their allies the Cumani, and invaded Asia Minor as far as the Halys. These expeditions brought Assyria into conflict with the Chatti or Hittites of Syria, no longer the mighty people who had dictated peace to Ramses II. Tiglath-pileser overcame a king in Teshub, and thereafter came to the Phœnician coast. At Arvad he received the submission of the vassal states of Syria. The contemporary king of Egypt thither sent him presents—including a crocodile—and thus formally recognised his succession by conquest to the dominions hitherto ruled by the Hittites. This Pharaoh possibly was Smendes, the ruler of northern Egypt at the beginning of the twenty-first dynasty.

After the death of Tiglath-pileser I, the boundary of Assyrian rule again receded. The Achlami or Arameans overran the Euphrates valley, and poured into Northern and Middle Syria, forming numerous settlements and transforming the racial character of the population. More than two centuries were to pass before the recovered might of Assyria projected a new and grander series of expeditions to the west, whereby all Syria, and finally Egypt also, were subdued, and an empire was founded, enormous beyond anything that history had known. But already the surrender of Syria to Tiglath-pileser I constituted the unforgotten claim and the incitement of those later wars.

It was only in the intervening period of Assyrian weakness, while that sinister claim lay dormant, and while Egypt on the other side was feeble, that independent kingdoms of any power and importance could possibly rise in Syria. Their existence was strictly

conditioned by the circumstances of these great powers, and it was inevitable that they should be crushed when these powers regained vigour. The Old Testament affords a trustworthy picture of the rise of such kingdoms in the Aramean Damascus and the Israel of King David.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE "ASTRALLEHRE" AND PANBABYLONISM

THE prevalence of Babylonian culture in Syria under the political supremacy of Egypt is a seeming contradiction which has called for repeated notice in the foregoing pages. It may be accounted for by the racial affinity of the Babylonians and the Canaanites; by a former dominion of Babylon over the west; by the continued sway of this city as a focus of culture, even in political depression; by its commerce, which dispersed that culture along the highways of trade. Even if these considerations seem insufficient, the facts remain; and there are scattered indications which support the belief that the Babylonian culture had a much wider diffusion.

A brilliant circle of scholars in Germany has been led by the increased precision of cuneiform studies to formulate a theory of the Babylonian philosophy which is startling in its consequences. Doctors Hugo Winckler and Alfred Jeremias are the leading champions of the theory, and the latter has embodied the result of much learning and research on the subject in his work entitled *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*. The theory demands fundamental reconsideration of current views on the origin of civilisation, and naturally it has excited controversy.

On the other hand, it throws light on many perplexities of mythology and tradition, and offers a remarkable solution for some puzzles of biblical history. The theory is not one that can be dismissed summarily. Although the question is still in conflict, it seems desirable here to sketch the outlines of the doctrine, which has not attracted the attention it deserves from English writers.

It is well known from classical testimony that Babylonia was the peculiar home of astronomy and astrology. Ample evidence to the same effect is found in the native cuneiform writings. A numerous class of these documents treat of the interpretation of omens, and they are found to evince a close and even profound knowledge of the sky; the same is less directly shown in the hymns and other literary remains of this land. In the opening of his treatise, *De Divinatione*, Cicero ascribes the astronomical science of the Assyrians (by which the Babylonians are to be understood) to their inhabiting a vast plain, which enabled them to observe an exceptionally wide region of heaven. There seems to be some penetration in the remark, since it was with celestial occurrences on or near the horizon that the Babylonian astronomy was chiefly concerned. Under the Roman empire the word Chaldean came to imply a profession rather than a nationality. It is just to recall that the rejection of astrology from the circle of the sciences is a recent matter. Only two or three centuries have passed since learned and cultivated minds relinquished the belief that human destinies are written in the sky. This faith is a remnant of the Babylonian lore, and might properly be called a science until it ceased to agree with observed facts. It is now asserted that the learned men

who lived in the plain of Shinar before the date of the oldest extant monument, had drawn from astronomical observations and analogies a theory of the universe which was rounded and consistent, and comprised all that now would be distributed under the heads of philosophy, theology and science. It is admitted that no written compendium of their lore exists (any more than the biblical system of theology is found in a collected form). The doctrine is to be pieced together by a comprehensive study of existing cuneiform inscriptions and other evidence. This is what the sponsors of the theory have done, and the system of ideas thus reconstructed, they have named the *astrallehre*, or astral doctrine.

Winckler observes that modern science has failed to build a general conception of the universe; each particular branch of study has taken its isolated way, and no authority has correlated the totality of results. In this respect the early Babylonians were in advance of us. The *astrallehre* is a uniform and all-embracing system, logically deduced from the body of observations available when it was originated. The result is wrong only because the observations were wrong. Babylonian astronomy fell short of the mighty discovery of Copernicus, and was involved in the mistaken view that the earth is situated in the middle of the universe. Otherwise it would appear that the later progress of astronomy, down to the fifteenth century, has been backward rather than forward; and it is asserted that these prehistorical watchers of the sky already knew all that afterwards was rediscovered by Greek and Arab philosophers.

The science of Shinar was based on religion. The

universe is the visible manifestation of the gods, who divide and successively exchange the government of its regions. In the revolutions of the sky the gods are conceived as merging and transferring their individuality and attributes; whence the theory of a latent monotheism, the doctrine at least of the enlightened few, underlying the popular polytheism.

The Babylonian astronomers interpreted the sky by terrestrial analogies. The earth, with its natural division into air, land and ocean, is only a reduced model of the celestial world. The starry sphere is likewise divided in three great regions: the northern hemisphere is the heavenly heaven, so to speak, the dome of the universe, holding to the rest of the sky a relation corresponding to that of the air in the sublunary economy; the circle of the zodiac is the heavenly earth, the solid continent (the *rākia* or firmament of Gen. i. 8); the southern hemisphere naturally is the heavenly ocean, on which the zodiac seems to rest, and by which it is encompassed as the ocean encompasses the dry land. Thus, as men created the gods in their image but believed the contrary, so the lower world was believed to be a humble copy of the world above. The correspondence held good through every detail; whatever exists in little below has its prototype in the heavenly sphere. Therefore the visible crises of the sky offer a sublime analogy to the vicissitudes of the lower world, and the destiny of nations and persons is written in the stars; thence the science of nativities, horoscopes, conjunctions and oppositions, and the cultivation of the lore as a criticism of life.

The slow displacement of the fixed stars and the dis-

integration of the constellations known to modern science escaped the keenness of Babylonian eyes. The unvarying features of the northern and the southern hemispheres, the celestial air and the celestial ocean, afforded little occasion for discovery. The zodiac, the celestial land where the sun, the moon and the planets fulfil their wanderings, was the fruitful region of observation. This belt of marvels is likened (by Jeremias) to a scroll of revelation expanded in the sky; the wandering stars are the interpreters of the divine decrees written therein from all eternity; the northern and the southern heavens are a vast commentary written on the margin of the shining text. To alter the figure, the zodiac is the dial of the world-clock, and sun, moon and planets are the handles.

As the earth is divided between the nations, so is the heavenly country divided into districts or "houses," of which there are twelve. The astrallehre seems to give no fundamental reason why twelve should be the number, nor does it explain the irrational and improbable names attached to the signs of the zodiac:

"The ram, the bull, the heavenly twins,
And next the crab, the lion shines,
The virgin and the scales;
The scorpion, archer, and he-goat,
The man who bears the water-pot
And fish with glittering tails."

Setting this difficulty aside, it is shown that these signs were known by corresponding names to the earliest Babylonians; and it is held that other nations—India, China, Greece—borrowed them from that source. It is further maintained that the duodecimal system of notation, of which traces survive beside the decimal—our dozen, shilling, foot

—is connected with the same conception, and has travelled with it into many lands. So also of the measurement of circles, the hours of day and night, and many other cases in which 60 or parts of 60 occur in computation; and many groups of twelve in history and tradition, as the tribes of Israel and Ishmael, the states of Etruria, the labours of Hercules, and so forth. It is impossible here to summarise the ingenious proofs which are arrayed in support of these conclusions.

The zodiac is also divided concentrically into seven rings, allotted to the sun, the moon and the five planets known to antiquity; and this division is the underlying “motive” of the sacred number seven which appears under so many forms in mythology and fable.

Much more naturally the measurement of time was taken from this standard. The solar month is the time spent by the sun in a single sign of the zodiac, and so is a logical subdivision of the year. The other natural periods of time, the day and the lunar month, are incommensurable with the year, leaving inconvenient fractions; whence the science of intercalary periods for the purpose of redressing these inequalities; and these also recur unexpectedly in legend and folk-lore. A more extraordinary development is the theory of greater cycles of time, which forms the groundwork of some remarkable speculations.

The correspondence of the day and its members to the year and its members is familiar to all (night=winter, morning=spring, etc.). The increase and the decay of the moon illustrates the same principle. Birth, youth, maturity, age and death: such is the unchanging course of all existences; in the heavens as here below, where they are reflected

in the life of men and the duration of empires. It was almost a natural sequence of ideas to assume vaster periods of time, and to give them corresponding attributes. Such secular revolutions, in fact, have long been known as matters of mystical reckoning in antiquity; as the Egyptian Sothis-period, the ages of the world described by Hesiod, the Etrurian cycle, and others. It is asserted that such conceptions were derived from the *astrallehre*, in its original form a belief deduced from rigidly accurate observations—though these are not kept unimpaired in the derivatives.

Modern science knows of real cycles in which the earth has undergone vicissitudes of climate. It is not suggested that the astronomers of Shinar had a tradition of the glacial period or any other cataclysm of nature; the similarity of their theory to that of geologists is accidental, and their data were purely astral. It is maintained that the Babylonian cycle was measured by the precession of the equinoctial point, a discovery usually credited to Greek astronomy. This gives a great world-period of (about) 26,000 years, in which the equinox traverses the whole circle of the zodiac; and twelve minor periods of 2200 years, in which it recedes the space of a single sign.

Since the plane of the ecliptic is inclined to the plane of the earth's orbit, it follows that a part of the zodiac is situated in the northern stellar hemisphere and another part in the southern. In the terms of the *astrallehre*, the southern signs are submerged in the heavenly ocean; and this view is held to be confirmed by the names (aquarius, pisces) of two of the southern signs. With the freedom of analogical reasoning, it is presumed that the signs opposite

to these are lifted into a region of fire. The summer and the winter of the great world-year are determined by the northern and the southern signs respectively; when the spring equinox fell in virgo or leo, then was the summer of the universe; when it falls in pisces (as it does in our unhappy era) or aquarius, then is the winter of the universe. When the astrallehre first took shape (before 3000 B.C.), it was the autumn of the universe; the (terrestrial) spring began in the sign of gemini, and evidence of this antiquity is said to be retained as survivals in the later form of the doctrine. For no cuneiform records exist of older date than 3000 B.C., when gemini yielded place to taurus; and it is asserted that the doctrine as preserved in cuneiform texts under the latter sign has been adapted and perhaps debased from that earlier form.

The taurus-age saw the rise of Babylon; and therefore Merodach (Marduk), the protecting deity of the city, was figured as a bull. Thence also the Apis-bull of Egypt, the golden calves of Aaron and Jeroboam, the Cretan Minotaur, and many similar cases of bull-worship. The establishment of this religion in Babylon is ascribed to its alleged founder, Sargon of Agade, who likewise reformed the calendar and consecrated the new era. Thus the astrallehre was of political as well as of speculative significance.

When aries succeeded to taurus as ruler of the spring (about 800 B.C.), Babylon no longer supported her claim to rule the world; but it is assumed that a reformation of the calendar and a new reckoning of time was then inaugurated; and it is remarkable that both the Canon of Ptolemy and the Babylonian Chronicle begin with Nabonassar, who

reigned in this century, and who is reported to have destroyed the historical monuments of his predecessors on the throne, in order that he might be regarded as the bringer of a new cycle. But the transformation was never fully effected. In Egypt the new age was signalled by the representation of Ammon as a ram-headed deity. The mystic lamb of the book of Revelation is derived from the same conception.

From this speculation also sprang the apocalyptic forebodings, so familiar to the later Jews and the early Christians, concerning the coming end of the world. From water the earth arose in the beginning, and by water must it be destroyed at the end of the present era. With this belief the *götterdämmerung* of northern mythology comes into comparison.

Evidence, which Jeremias does not seem to have cited, in confirmation of the alleged relation of the signs to historical periods, is perhaps latent in the astrological characters of persons born under the respective signs. According to Manilius (*Astronomicum*, iv. 121 ff.), aries destines to vicissitudes of fortune, inspires a love of speculative trading, luxury and empty glory. Aries ruled the spring when the poet wrote, and the disposition attached to persons born under this sign may fitly be adapted to describe the Roman world of his time. Taurus bestows rural quiet, severe but wholesome labour, tranquil minds, honesty and slowness of speech; it was the sign of those antique men, Serranus and Curius, who despised foppery and served the state from a sense of duty. Clearly the traits are those of the heroic past which Roman writers were so fond of regretting. Thirdly, gemini give the vein

of poetry and song, the slender reed, the mighty line; the labours they impose are pleasures:

“Arma procul, lituosque volunt, tristemque senectam;
Otia et æternam peragunt in amore juventam.”

Here also the features closely correspond to the golden age, when mankind lived in elegant indolence, favoured by the society of the gods, free from disease and strife.

The science of Shinar could not banish moral ideas from the theory of the universe. Here again analogy was the principle of reasoning. The alternation of day and night, summer and winter, cosmos and chaos, suggested the social contraries, good and evil, prosperity and misery, culture and barbarism, civil order and dissolution. If the sun in winter shines with lessened glory, it is because the southern watery powers, the powers of confusion, have partly prevailed over him; when he returns with undiminished energy in spring, it is because he has overcome that envious influence. The moon has a similar struggle; and the mythologies of many lands symbolise these agonies. In the world-year the combat was enacted on an ampler stage by grander personages. The primal forces of destruction and reaction here were ranged against the principle of light; the struggle was for life and death, and its course and issue were the pattern of all inferior struggles.

It is asserted that the astrallehre understood the struggle in a plain and physical sense; but such science was too strong meat for the common people, and therefore was clothed in the sensuous form of mythology to be more readily apprehended. The latter is the form by which it is actually known. The Babylonian epic of creation (called

from its opening words *Enuma elish*) tells how, before the earth was made, the gods of darkness warred on the gods of light and nearly overcame them. Then Merodach stepped into the breach and fought the great she-dragon Tiamat, a monstrous ruler of a monstrous people. Long and bloody was the fight; Tiamat was overcome, and her body was split into two parts, of which one became the sky and the other the earth. To the victor was delivered the rule of the new world; the succession of time was ordained afresh; the constellations of the zodiac were appointed; man was created.

The myth of the splitting of Tiamat has travelled into many lands and reappears in diverse shapes. It is now well known that this epic underlies the narrative of creation in Gen. i., where Tiamat reappears in the Hebrew *tehom*, the deep. Traces of the victory of Merodach, transferred to Jehovah, are found in some Biblical passages, where the dragon appears as Rahab, leviathan, tannin (Job xxvi. 12, 13; Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14, lxxxix. 10; Isa. xxvii. 1, li. 9, 10). In the epistle of Jude and the book of Revelation, the archangel Michael and the devil are the antagonists. So also Tiamat is the Midgard-serpent of Scandinavia, the serpent Apophis of Egypt, the Persian Asmodeus.

Since the rule of the present world has been committed to Merodach, it followed that Babylon, the seat of his worship, must be the capital of the world. Here the pure doctrine is evidently adapted for a political purpose; the supremacy of Babylon is deduced from the eternal purposes of the gods. Although such a pretension could not arrest the march of events, there is evidence that Babylon till

the last was regarded as a religious capital by a wide circle.

Political motives have freer play in the doctrine concerning the minor epochs during which a given sign opens the spring. Like the great world-year, these lesser world-years, or world-months, also have their seasons. As Merodach vindicated and installed the great world-year, so the lesser periods require a deliverer; in this case a mortal god, a king of divine birth. As already noticed, Sargon of Agade, the supposed founder of Babylon, was the hero of the taurus-period; and this conqueror became the model for a great many rulers who sought to ground their dominion on a religious basis. As the astrallehre was debased and vulgarised in the course of ages, eastern conquerors of every magnitude took Sargon, consciously or unconsciously, as their exemplar. Of this undoubtedly historical king it is related that his mother was a vestal, his father unknown, his birth in obscurity. The vestal exposed her babe on the river in a basket of reeds stopped with pitch. A water-carrier found the waif, nourished him as his own, and made him a gardener; in which condition the young man was beloved by Istar the heavenly queen. When Herodotus tells a very similar story of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, who in other respects is a sober historical personage; when we recall the story of the exposure of Moses, the deliverer and founder of the nation of Israel; of Romulus, the founder of Rome; of Œdipus, Perseus and other heroes,—it becomes evident that something more than a coincidence is in question. It would seem that the ancient East deliberately fabricated such legends of its great men, the founders of dynasties, in order

that their received history should conform to a religious pattern, and that their defect of birth should be supplied by a higher title.

In a review of many historical instances, certain features thus detach themselves as characteristics. Examples of mysterious birth are found in Bacchus, the Cretan Zeus, Melchizedek, Elijah, Gudea, Sargon II, and others cited by Jeremias; of exposure in an ark, in Osiris and Noah. The reform of the calendar, the beginning of a new age, is exemplified by Nabonassar, Romulus, the Seleucidæ, Cæsar, Mahomet; it is interesting to remark that the revolutionary Convention followed the same procedure. For the destruction of ancient records, in order that history should begin again with blank pages, Jeremias cites the parallel of Alexander in Persia, and of Shin-shi-hoang in China (in 213 B.C.); and compares the burning of the Alexandrian library by the caliph Omar. It may be recalled, too, that the early popes made war in a like spirit on Livy and Sallust. It must be supposed that some of these features were actually adopted by the historical persons in question as a token of their legitimacy, and some were the genuine consequence of like circumstances.

Among those renegades who acclaimed the entrance of Alexander into Babylon, Quintus Curtius particularly mentions the Chaldeans "*soliti siderum motus et statas temporum vices ostendere.*" Evidently the doctrine was not too rigid to be adapted to the needs of the hour!

It is further maintained that Babylon of all places was the most proper to develop the theory of a coming deliverer. The actual political condition of this city, during the greater part of its history, was a bitter contrast to the

doctrinal supremacy which it still asserted. It was therefore probable that the priests and the sages should predict a coming restoration by a new Sargon or a new Hammurabi. The expectation by the Israelites of a second David was but an echo of this doctrine, and it was from Babylon that the suggestion of the Messianic hope travelled to Canaan. Obviously the coming deliverer would be clothed with the traditional features of the great historical founders; and it is superfluous to remark how these features are assembled in the Messiah of Jewish expectation, which there is reason to think was only a variant of a belief widely held in the east. The bearing of the theory to doctrinal Christianity will bear much discussion, but it is an essential point that the *astrallehre* is concerned with the formal presentation of history, and not with the substance. The importance of form is, however, very apparent when the book of Revelation and other canonical and apocryphal pieces of a mystic character are read in the new light. For example, the words of 1 John iii. 8: "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil," do not lose their deeply spiritual significance when the allusion to the combat of Merodach and Tiamat is admitted.

After the above extremely imperfect sketch of the *astrallehre*, it would be unfair to marshal the arguments which are directed against it. These are weighty, and it remains to be seen if the theory is not finally destined to rest in the limbo of discredited systems, with the totem hypothesis and other figments of past learning. By the critical school it is rejected as a chimera of the imagination, to which the cuneiform tablets themselves give no support.

And it must be admitted that the weakness of the theory lies in the ambiguity and indirectness of the evidence. Again, the parts of the system are not linked in a sequence so firm and necessary that some may not be received and some discarded; for example, there is anything but unanimity among Assyriologists as to the extremely early date asserted for the elaboration of the doctrine.

Kertassi, E9
 el-Khalasa, G1 (BERED, ISAAC, § 1)
 el-Khalil, H1 (HERON)
 Khesout-Xois ? C1
 Klysmā, E3 (EXODUS, § 11)
 el-Köm el-Älhimar, E7
 Kôm-el-Kälzum, B3
 Kôm Ombo, E8
 Kopios, E7 (EGYPT, § 14)
 el-Köseir, G6
 old Köseir, G6
 Krokodilopolis Arsinoë, C3
 Küfi, E7
 el-Kürneh, E7 (EGYPT, § 37)
 Küs, E7
 Kusæ, C5
 el-Küsüsiyeh, C5
 el-Lahun, C13 (EGYPT, § 49)
 Latopolis, E7
 Leontönpolis, D2 (EGYPT, § 72)
 Limne, C3
 Lishi, D3 (EGYPT, § 49)
 Luxor, E7 (EGYPT, § 37)
 Lykopolis, D5
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 bir Makäl, E2
 Mandesic Mouth, F1
 L. Mareotis, B1 (ALEXANDRIA, § 1)
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 GOSHEN, §§ 2, 4)
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 Menet-Hüfu, C
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 räs Mohāammed § 12)
 el-jebel el-Mokous, §§ 14-16;
 4; EXODUS, §
 (Moph), D3
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 el-Munnula (Pa
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 On, D2
 Opet, E7 § 3)
 Oxyrhynchus, (EGYPT, § 62)

[illegible]

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MAP OF EGYPT

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Parentheses indicating articles that refer to the place-names are in certain cases added to non-biblical names having no biblical equivalent. The alphabetical arrangement usually is, prefixes: 'Ain ('spring'), Bahr ('sea' etc.), Bir ('well'), el ('the'), Guf, J. (Jebel, 'mt'), Kh. (Kharib, 'creek'), L. (lake), Medinet ('town'), Mt., N. (Nahr, 'river'), R. (river), Tel ('mound'), W. (Wady, 'valley').

Abodu, D6	jebel 'Atilla, C3 (BAAL-ZEPHON)	Chiosobosion, E5	Ekhbit, E8	Henen-seten, C3
Abu Qir el-Kubli, F5	Arifh, D3	Cynopolis, C4	tell Esrb, D2	Hem-het, E8
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Achanic Gulf, G3, 4	el-Balhi (L.), E2 (EXODUS, § 15)	Daphnia, D1	tell Farasat, M2	Hierakonpolis, D2
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el-Aksur, E7	Bobbit el-Higrah, D1	Denderah, E6	Gaza, G1	Hō, E6
Alabaster Quarries, D5	el-Beheneh, C4 (GOSHEN, § 30)	el-Der el-Hajj, E7 (EXODUS, § 33)	Gazat, G1	Hypsele, D5
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Ama el-Wafad (I.), E8	Billets, D2 (GOSHEN, § 5)	Disopolis Magna, E7	Ghazza, G1	Iskanderiyyeh, B1
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(Anti?), E7	el-Birih, D6	Dodeca Schomus, E9	Gizeh, D3 (EXODUS, § 45)	Jerusalem, H1
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Apotēkē? D5	Bucolic Mouth, D1 (EXODUS, § 6, n. 5)	Ejūna, C3	Hanes?, C3 (HAKES)	Kalāt el-Akaba, C3 (DZANAN)
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Arabit el-Madūneh, D6	Bukris, C1	Elah, G3	Hat-nah, D3	Karim, Birket, C3 (EXODUS, § 30)
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el-Koseir, G6	el-jebel el-Mokattam, D3 (GOSHEN, § 4; EXODUS, § 12)	Pihom-Etham, E2 (EXODUS, § 10)	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	el-Timsh (L.), E2 (EXODUS, § 14/5; BAAL-ZEPHON)
old Koseir, G6	el-jebel el-Mokattam, D3 (GOSHEN, § 4; EXODUS, § 12)	Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	Tini, D6 (EXODUS, § 44)
Krokolopolis-Arsinoe, C3	el-wady el-Mukattab, F2	Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	Tmal el-Amid, D2
Kufi, E7	el-Muntia (Pasa), F2 (EXODUS, § 12)	Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	To-sheh, C3
el-Kurosh, E7 (EXODUS, § 37)	jebel Mōsa, F4 (7) (DZANAN)	Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	Tōkh, E7
Kūn, E7	Myos Hormos, F5 (ALEXANDRIA, § 1)	Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	Tuku, E2 (EXODUS, § 10)
Kuam, C5		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	W. es-Tamilit, D2 (GOSHEN, § 2, 4; EXODUS, § 16)
el-Kūshiyeh, C5		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	Turra, D3
el-Lahān, CD3 (EXODUS, § 40)		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	Usim, D2
Latopis, E7		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	Vicus Judaeorum, D2
Leontopolis, D2 (EXODUS, § 72)		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	el-Wahit el-Bahrye or
Leopolis, D3		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	el-Sughrim, AB4
Lisht, D3 (EXODUS, § 49)		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	el-Wahit ed-Dikhila, (EXODUS, § 4)
Luxor, E7 (EXODUS, § 37)		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	AB7
Lykopolis, D5		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	el-Wahit el-Khadrja, (EXODUS, § 4)
wady Maghira, F3, 4 (EXODUS, § 45)		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	C7
bir Makla, E2		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	Weset, E7
Yadēsiē Mouth, E1		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	Yebu, E9
L. Marcotis, B1 (ALEXANDRIA, § 1)		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	tell el-Yehūd, D2
jebel Maryām, E2 (EXODUS, § 12)		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	tell el-Yehūdihy, D2
haby Maryūt, B1 (EXODUS, § 12)		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	jebel Zabira, G8 (EXODUS, § 3)
tell el-Masūda, E2 (EXODUS, § 10, 10; GOSHEN, § 4)		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	Zaan, D2 (EXODUS, § 12; EXODUS, § 62)
Mas el-Khūrah, D2		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	
el-Matariēh, D2		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	
Médām, D3 (EXODUS, § 45)		Pi-neb-ded, D2	Sak el-Jedid, Dardawil, EF1	

ing no biblical equivalent. The alphabetical arrangement usually is: *Ar* (ruin'), *L*. (lake), *Medīnet* ('town'), *Mt.*, *N.* (*Nahr*, 'river'), *R.* (river).

İtbôt, E8

ell Etrib, D2

ell el-Faḍḍa, E2

el-Faiyūm, C3 (EGYPT, § 50)

nedinet el-Faiyūm, C3

Ḥākūš, D2 (GOSHEN, § 3)

el-Farāfra, A5, 6, margin (EGYPT, § 4)

ell Faramā, E2

Ḥarshūt, E6

ell el-Ferā'in, C1

Ḥostāt, D3

Ḥaza, G1

Ḥazat, G1

Ḥebelēn, E7

Ḥeziret ez-Zahīr (I.), E8

. Ghārib, E4

Ḥazza, G1

Ḥirgeh, D6 (EGYPT, § 44)

Ḥizeh, D3 (EGYPT, § 45)

Ḥosu, C5

nedinet Habū E7 (EGYPT, § 61)

Ḥalwān, D3

V. Ḥammāmāt, EF7

Ḥanes(?), C3 (HANES)

Ḥat-ḥri-(e)be, D2

Ḥa(t)-ka-ptah, D3

Ḥat-nūb, D5

Ḥat-sehem, E6

Ḥawāra, C3 (EGYPT, § 50)

Ḥebet, D1

Ḥebbron, H1

Ḥeliopolis, D2 (EGYPT, §§ 14, 49)

Ḥenen-seten, C3

Ḥenu, E8

Herakleopolis, C3 (HANES, EGYPT, § 40)

Hermonthis, E7 (EGYPT, § 14)

Hermopolis Magna, C5 (EGYPT, § 14)

Hermopolis Parva, C1

Heroönpolis, E2 (BAAL-ZEPHON)

tell el-Ḥesy, G1 (LACHISH)

Hierakönpolis, D5

Hierakönpolis, E7 (EGYPT, § 43)

tell el-Ḥir, E2

Ḥimunu, C5

Hū, E6

Hypsele, D5

tell Ibn es-Salām, D2

el-Ibrāhimiyeh (canal), C5

Iseum, D1

Iskanderiyeh, B1

İtfū, D6

Jerusalem, H1

el-Kāb, E7 (EGYPT, § 43)

ain Ḥadīs, G2 (KADESH, § 1)

Kainepolis, E6

Ḥalābsheh, E9 (EGYPT, § 37)

Ḥal at el-'Aḳaba, G3 (DI-ZAHAB)

el-Karnak, E7 (EGYPT, §§ 37, 54)

Ḥarūn, Birket, C3 (EGYPT, § 50)

Kasion, F1 (EXODUS, § 13)

Ḥasr eṣ-Ṣaiyād, E6

Ḥaṣrūn, Rās el-, F1

jebel Katrina, F4

Ḥāu, D6

Ke-Z)

r-Ruḥēbeh, G1 (BERED)

ebel er-Rukhām, D5

Tahpanhes? E2

Talmis, E9

SUMMARY OF CHIEF EVENTS

NONE of the dates are certain, and the earlier especially must be taken with caution. The co-ordination of Babylonian and Egyptian history is absolutely trustworthy only for the Amarna period. The authorities here followed are Petrie for Egyptian and Winckler for Babylonian chronology. The dates adopted by Breasted, which differ considerably from those of Petrie, are subjoined in square brackets thus: [B. 2900-2475].

The oldest civilised nations of which we have any record were those of the Nile and the Euphrates valleys. Of their beginnings nothing can be known; the very existence of written monuments indicates a long period of previous development.

Before the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C., Egypt was occupied by a civilised race, of which many tombs have been opened, and numerous highly finished ornaments and other objects have been recognised as monuments. No actual historical facts have been ascertained of this age, to which the first three dynasties of later historians are reckoned.

Probably as early a highly cultured people was settled in the plain of the lower Euphrates. No tangible remains of this race have been discovered, but their speech was

long preserved for religious and magical purposes by their Semitic successors in the land, and remains of their civilisation have been traced in the customs of later nations. They have been called the Sumerians and the Accadians from Sumer (Shinar) and Accad, or southern and northern Babylonia.

4000-3000. The first great migration of the Semitic race from Arabia overflowed Sumer and Accad, and replaced or absorbed the older population, but adopted much of the existing culture. This invasion is distinguished from later Semitic migrations as the "Babylonian-Semitic."

3998-3335. The fourth, fifth and sixth dynasties of Lower Egypt was an age of great activity and splendour. Numerous monuments are found; to the fourth dynasty belong the great pyramids of Gizeh; the Proverbs of Ptah-hotep, the oldest known book, belong to the fifth. Under both the fourth and the fifth dynasties Sinai was conquered for the sake of its quarries. The tomb-inscription of Una, in the sixth dynasty, mentions a great expedition in which negro soldiers were employed against the Amu or Asiatics. [B. 2900-2475.]

3335-2778. The seventh to the tenth dynasties; a long interval of monumental obscurity (and probably of actual depression) in Egyptian history. [B. 2475-2160.]

3100. Chyan, possibly a Semitic invader, ruled in Lower Egypt. A sculptured lion bearing the name of this king has been found near Bagdad—indicative of a dominion extending from the Tigris to the Nile. An alabaster vase-lid bearing his name has also been

found in the ruins of the palace of Cnossus in Crete [B. makes this king one of the Hycsos rulers].

3000–1500. The second great migration of the Semitic race from Arabia is distinguished from the first (see above) as the “Canaanite” or “Amorite” invasion, from the names of typical members of the group; the Hycsos, the Phœnicians, the Assyrians and the Hebrews were other branches of the same family. It overflowed all south-western Asia to the Mediterranean Sea and Egypt. In Babylonia it appears to have strongly occupied Sumer (the south), but failed to expel the earlier Semites, who were most firmly settled in Accad (the north).

3000. The earliest written monuments of Babylonia tell of small city-states, often at war with one another. They had a common civilisation, and give the impression of being the fragments of an earlier political unity. The speech of the inscriptions is Sumerian. Greater perfection is shown by the art and the writing of northern Babylonia (chief cities: Sippar, Cutha, Kish, Borsippa, Babylon, Dur-ilu), but the ruling states were those of southern Babylonia (namely, Eridu, Ur, Larsa, Nippur, Lagash, Isin).

2985–2778. The eleventh Egyptian dynasty, contemporary with the tenth, ruled in Upper Egypt (Thebes), gradually gained power, and extended its sway over all Egypt. Antef V of this dynasty (2852–2832) records victories over Asiatics and negroes. [B. 2160–2000.]

2800. Sargon of Agade became master of all Babylonia as well as Elam, Mesopotamia and Syria.

Naram-sin, his son, maintained and extended Sargon's conquests. He took the title "king of the four quarters of the world."

In these two reigns, which appear to represent the pre-Canaanite or "Babylonian-Semitic" race, the culture of Babylonia was widely diffused. Art and writing were very highly developed. The conquest-pillar of Naram-sin is one of the most remarkable objects of early antiquity, being free from the stiffness of later sculpture. The speech of the inscriptions is Babylonian-Semitic. Gudea, a "patesi" or vassal-king of Lagash, in south Babylonia, of later date than Naram-sin, was a great builder and patron of art. As indication of a wide Babylonian commerce, his inscriptions mention that he brought building material from Syria and Arabia.

2778-2565. The twelfth Egyptian dynasty, founding on the victories of the eleventh, restored prosperity and activity in Upper and Lower Egypt. [B. 2000-1788.]

2778-2748. Amenemhat I was an active ruler, whose monuments occur in all parts of Egypt; to this reign belong the Adventures of Sinuhe (see Chapter III) and the Biography of Chnum-hotep; quarrying in Sinai. [B. 2000-1970.]

2758-2714. Usirtesen I; conquests in Syria and Nubia. [B. Sesostri I, 1970-1935.]

2684-2660. Usirtesen II; a deputation of the Amu of Shu, under a leader named Absha, visited Egypt with presents of animals, etc.; they were a richly-clad and evidently not barbarous people. [B. Sesostri II, 1903-1887.]

- 2660-2622. Usirtesen III; conquests in Nubia. [B. Sesostris III, 1887-1849.]
- 2622-2578. Amenemhat III; Lake Mœris constructed [B. 1849-1801]. Later reigns of the twelfth dynasty give signs of decay.
- 2600-2400. The dynasty of Ur, in south Babylonia; the inscriptions of this period are Sumerian, proving that the old traditions survived longest in south Babylonia. The earliest known king of the line, Ur-gur, calls himself "King of Ur, king of Sumer and Accad"; his inscriptions have been found only in the south. Dungi, his son, took the title of "king of the four quarters of the world." The names of the remaining known kings of this series, Bur-sin, Gimil-sin, I-be-sin, indicate a Semitic revival. These kings, with Ur as their capital, seem to have ruled over much of Sargon's and Naram-sin's empire, and represent the rise of the "Canaanite" race to power.
- 2565-2112. The thirteenth Egyptian dynasty; obscure. [B. 1788- , see below.]
- 2400-2300. The dynasty of Isin, in southern Babylonia, was partly contemporaneous with the first dynasty of Babylon. The names of the kings (Gimil-ninib, Ishme-dagan, etc.) are Semitic, and indicate a "Canaanite" relationship.
- 2300-2200. The dynasty of Larsa, in southern Babylonia, was contemporaneous with the first dynasty of Babylon, by which it was overthrown.
- 2400-2100. The first dynasty of Babylon, eleven kings in about 276 years, was at first subject to the kings of Isin, and afterwards to those of Larsa, but gradually

won its independence. Of this dynasty, and especially of Hammurabi the sixth king, numerous remains exist in public inscriptions and private contract-tablets. The names are "Canaanite." The first five kings were contemporaneous with those of Isin and Larsa. Hammurabi defeated Rim-sin, the last king of Larsa; Babylon was thenceforth unchallenged mistress of south and north. In one of his inscriptions Hammurabi calls himself "king of Mar-tu" (= Amurru, or Syria). He also names Assur and Nineveh as cities which he restored; they seem to have been vassal cities of the former Babylonian conquerors, by him again reduced to that status. Hammurabi's law pillar is one of the most valuable monuments of ancient civilisation. It was found in the ruins of Susa, whither it had been carried off in some incursion by the Elamites. Hammurabi and Rim-sin have been identified with the Amraphel and Arioch of Gen. xiv.; the monuments sufficiently attest the possibility of Elamite conquests such as that ascribed to Chedorlaomer (Rim-sin is Rim-acu in Sumerian). H. W. King and others are now inclined to date Hammurabi's reign later than 2000 B.C.

2112-1928. The fourteenth Egyptian dynasty; obscure.
[B., see below.]

2100-1700. The second dynasty of Babylon; eleven kings in 308 (?) years; obscure.

2098-1587. The domination of the Hysos in Egypt (see Chapter I), contemporaneous with the fifteenth, the sixteenth and the seventeenth Egyptian dynasties.
[The duration and the dates of the Hysos dynasty

are still *sub judice*, and there is a tendency among scholars to shorten the one and to lower the other. B. 1788-1580, contemporaneous with the thirteenth to the seventeenth dynasties.]

2000-1000. The migration of Hittites from the north into Mesopotamia and Syria founded the kingdom of Naharina or Mitannia, which extended from northern Syria to the Tigris (its capital Nineveh?) down to 1500. Assur was governed by a line of "patesis" or vassal-kings. The weakness of Babylon under the second dynasty and later, and the irruption of Hittites in Mesopotamia, prompted the "patesis" to assert their independence. They took the title "king of Assur" and were recognised by other states, but their independence was for centuries contested by Babylon. The territory of the earlier Assyrian kingdom was limited to the eastern part (Arbela) of the later empire of Assyria.

1700-1150. The Cassite dynasty of Babylon; thirty-six kings in about 576 years.

1700. Babylonia was overrun by a new invader, the Cassites, a non-Semitic race coming from the east or the north-east. The population of Babylonia was strongly charged with the new element, but not fundamentally renewed, as it had been by the Semitic invasion. In the course of time the Cassites were absorbed and the Semitic type reappeared. This process is illustrated by the names of the kings, which became purely Semitic in the later members of the dynasty.

1587. The expulsion of the Hycsos from Egypt. [B. 1580.]

- 1587-1328. The eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, a period of great activity and foreign conquests; Syria reduced under Egyptian rule (Chapters V to XIII). [B. 1580-1315.]
- 1587-1562. Reign of Amosis (p. 71). [B. 1580-1557.]
- 1562-1541. Reign of Amenophis I (p. 72). [B. 1557- .]
- 1541-1516. Reign of Thothmosis I; conquests in Syria; wars against Naharina (p. 72). [B. -1501.]
- 1516-1503. Reign of Thothmosis II (p. 74). [B. 1501- .]
- 1516-1481. Reign of Amense; lapse of Syrian dominion (p. 75). [B. 1501-1480.]
- 1503-1449. Reign of Thothmosis III; a great series of expeditions against Syria and Naharina, ending in complete conquest of the former and treaty relations with the latter (p. 77 seq.). [B. 1501-1447.]
- 1500-1000. The third great migration of Semites from Arabia, distinguished as the "Aramean." Its chief branches were the Suti, the Achlami (Arameans) and the Chaldeans.
- 1449-1423. Reign of Amenophis II (p. 96). His contemporaries seem to have been Artatama, king of Mitannia (Naharina), and Caraindash, king of Babylon; the latter sent messengers to Egypt and opened a friendly intercourse which was maintained for many years; he also made a treaty with Assur-rim-nishi-shu, king of Assur, whose independence he recognised. [B. 1448-1420.]
- 1423-1414. Reign of Thothmosis IV (p. 97). He married a daughter of Artatama. [B. 1420-1411.]
- 1414-1379. Reign of Amenophis III (p. 99 seq.). At this time the intercourse between Asia and Egypt was

very active. That other countries participated in the traffic is shown by the discovery of "Ægean" pottery in Palestine and of Egyptian scarabs in Mycene and Crete. Contemporary kings were: in Babylonia, Cadashman-bel, whose sister he married; Burnaburiash I (a short reign), and Kurigalzu I: in Assyria, Pusur-assur, Assur-nadin-achi, and Irba-adad: in Mitannia, Shutarna, whose daughter he married, and Dushratta. The treaty made by Caraindash with Assyria was renewed between Burnaburiash I and Pusur-assur. Irba-adad took the titles of "king of the world" and "king of the four quarters," and speaks in his inscriptions of important conquests; the exaggeration illustrates the value of the same title in other cases. In this reign the Hittites of Asia Minor began to migrate into Syria and Mesopotamia, and came into collision with Mitannia. [B. 1411-1375.]

1383-1365. Reign of Amenophis IV (Chapters VIII to XII); the Aten doctrines; decline of Egyptian power; the Egyptians ejected from Syria, except southern Palestine. Contemporaries: in Babylon, Burnaburiash II, whose daughter he (doubtfully) married: in Assyria, Assur-uballit, whose independence was disputed by Burnaburiash II: in Mitannia, Dushratta, whose daughter Amenophis IV married; the conditions of this age are amply illustrated by the Tell el-Amarna letters (p. 119 seq.). [B. 1375-1358.]

1365-1328. Reigns of Acenchres, Rathotis, Ay and Armais (p. 179 seq.), a period of internal strife and outer weakness; restoration of Ammon worship; end of the eighteenth dynasty. During this time the Hittites

conquered Syria as far south as Galilee. About this time Mitannia was broken up by the Hittites on the west, the Assyrians on the east, and the Aramean on the south. Assyria became the ruling power in Mesopotamia, contested only by Babylon at intervals. Caraindash II, son of Burnaburiash II, married a daughter of Assur-uballit and made a treaty with him. [B. 1358-1315.]

Cadashman-charbe, son of Caraindash II, drove out the nomads (Suti) who overran Babylonia; he built towers in Amurru, digged wells and planted colonies there; apparently he opened a new trade route to the west, the Assyrians having closed the Mesopotamian road to Babylonian traffic.

Kurigalzu II was established on the throne of Babylon by his great-grandfather Assur-uballit. With Bel-nirari (son of Assur-uballit) he made war, with doubtful result.

1328-1202. The nineteenth Egyptian dynasty; a period of renewed activity and conquest; Syria partly reconquered. [B. 1315-1205.]

1328-1326. Reign of Ramses I (p. 181). [B. 1315-1314.]

1326-1300. Reign of Sethos I; wars in Syria (p. 181). [B. 1313-1292.]

1300-1234. Reign of Ramses II (Chapters XIII-XV); an age of brilliancy and victory, ending in decay. After many years of war in Syria, Ramses II made a treaty with the Hittites, by which relations were established similar to those which formerly had subsisted with Mitannia. To this reign belong the epic of Pentaur (the Sallier papyrus), see p. 190; and the Travels of a Mohar (the Anastasi papyrus), see p. 202. The Delta

- overrun by Libyans; Syrian and other colonists brought in as a counterpoise to these. [B. 1292-1225.]
1300. Adad-nirari I, king of Assur, carried on war in Mesopotamia and completed the destruction of Mitannia.
- Shalmaneser I, son of the last, greatly extended the Assyrian conquests and defeated a great combination of the northern Mesopotamian races with the Chatti and the Achlami (the Arameans). He also made war on Babylon.
1280. Tukulti-ninib, son of the last, took the title "king of Carduniash, Sumer and Accad." He carried captive Bitiliash II, the sixth Babylonian king since Kurigalzu II, and enthroned Bel-nadin-shum in his place. The latter before two years was dethroned by the Elamites, who now strove with Assyria for interest in Babylonia. Before many years the power of Assyria decayed. In a contest for the throne, Assur-narara and Nabu-daian sought the support of the Babylonian king Adad-shum-nasir, and by him were treated as vassals. Their successor Ninib-tukulti-assur was kept a prisoner in Babylon by Melishipak, who established Assur-shumlishir in his place.
- 1234-1214. Reign of Merenptah in Egypt; wars against the Libyans; appearance of Ægean invaders; the "Israel" stele (Chapter XV). [B. 1225-1215.]
- 1214-1202. Reigns of Sethos II, Amenmeses, Thuoris; Siptah and Setnacht; civil war and weakness abroad (p. 215 seq.). [B. 1215-1198.]
- 1202-1102. The twentieth Egyptian dynasty; an age of decay. [B. 1198-1090.]
- 1202-1170. Reign of Ramses III; renewed invasions by the Libyans; the "sea-peoples"; Egypt attacked by

sea and land; the Philistines (Chapters XV, XVI).
[B. 1198-1167.]

1171-1102. Reigns of Ramses IV to Ramses XII; obscure.
[B. 1167-1090.]

1150-1020. The dynasty of Pashe in Babylon.

1102-952. The twenty-first dynasties; two contemporary lines rule in Upper and Lower Egypt; continued decay. [B. 1090-945.]

1102-1086. Reign of Herhor in Thebes. [B. 1090-1085.]

1102-1076. Reign of Smendes in Memphis; the adventures of Unuamen (the Golenischeff papyrus) (Chapter XVII). [B. 1090-1085.]

1100. Restoration of Assyrian might by Assur-resh-ishi; he dispersed the Achlami in Mesopotamia and subdued the Lulumi, eastward of Assyria; he also renewed war with Babylon.

Tiglath-pileser I conquered the whole of Mesopotamia, Armenia and Asia Minor as far westward as the Halys; in Syria he defeated the Chatti and established a claim to their empire which was recognised by the vassal states; he advanced to the Mediterranean Sea and in Arvad received the submission of the surrounding lands. The Egyptian king of the time sent presents, and acknowledged his right as a conqueror. In this reign Assyria also won territory from Babylon.

The reign of Tiglath-pileser I was followed by a long period of depression in Assyria, by which the Achlami or Arameans profited to overrun Northern and Middle Syria, where we afterwards find them forming the main stock of the population, though in few cases founding important kingdoms.

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